

**ANALYZING THE PRESSURES (INTERNAL AND
EXTERNAL) IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION:
CASE STUDY OF KASHMIR**



AUTHOR

MARYA REHMAN QURESHI

REGN NO. NUST277123

SUPERVISOR

DR. TUGHRAL YAMIN

DEPARTMENT OF PEACE & CONFLICT STUDIES

NUST INSTITUTE OF PEACE & CONFLICT STUDIES (NIPCONS)

NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY (NUST)

ISLAMABAD

2020

**ANALYZING THE PRESSURES (INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL) IN CONFLICT
RESOLUTION**

CASE STUDY OF KASHMIR

AUTHOR

MARYA REHMAN QURESHI

REGISTRATION NO. NUST277123

**A thesis submitted in the partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of MS
Peace and Conflict Studies**

SUPERVISOR

DR. TUGHRAL YAMIN

DEPARTMENT OF PEACE & CONFLICT STUDIES

NUST Institute of Peace & Conflict Studies (NIPCONS)

National University of Science & Technology (NUST)

ISLAMABAD

2020



*In the name of Allah,
the Most Beneficent,
the Most Merciful*

THESIS ACCEPTANCE CERTIFICATE

Certified that final copy of MS thesis title Analysing the internal and external pressure for conflict resolution: Case study of Kashmir, written by Miss Marya Rehman Qureshi, Registration No. 277123, of CIPS NUST has been vetted by undersigned, found complete in all aspects as per NUST MS Policy, is free of plagiarism, errors, and mistakes and is accepted as partial fulfillment for award of MS degree. It is further certified that necessary amendments as pointed out by GEC members and foreign/local evaluators of the scholar have also been incorporated in the said thesis.

Supervisor: _____

Dr. Tughral Yamin

CIPS NUST

HoD: _____

Dr. Bakare Najimdeen

CIPS NUST

Dean: _____

Dr. Tughral Yamin

CIPS NUST.

CERTIFICATE OF PLAGIARISM

It is certified that MS Thesis Titled Analysing the internal and external pressure for conflict resolution: Case study of Kashmir by Marya Rehman Qureshi has been examined by me. I undertake the follows:

- a. Thesis has significant knowledge as compared already published or are under consideration to be published elsewhere. No sentence, equation, diagram, table, paragraph or section has been copied verbatim from previous work unless it is placed under quotation marks and duly referenced.
- b. The work presented is original and own work of the author (i.e. there is no plagiarism). No ideas, processes, results or words of others have been presented as Author own work.
- c. There is no fabrication of data or results that have been compiled/analyzed.
- d. There is no falsification by manipulating research materials, equipment or processes, or changing or omitting data or results such that the research is not accurately represented in the research record.
- e. The thesis has been checked using TURNITIN and found within limits as per HEC plagiarism Policy and instructions issued from time to time.

Signature of Supervisor

Dr. Tughral Yamin

Associate Dean

**DEPARTMENT OF Peace &
CONFLICT STUDIES**

**NUST Institute of Peace & Conflict
Studies (NIPCONS)**

NUST ISLAMABAD

DECLARATION

I Marya Rehman Qureshi hereby declare that this dissertation titled ‘Analysing the internal and external Pressures in conflict resolution: Case study of Kashmir’ is my own original work and has not been submitted before to any institution for assessment purposes.

Further, I have acknowledged all sources used and have cited these in the reference section.

Signature of Student

Marya Rehman Qureshi

MS Peace and Conflict Studies

REGN NO. NUST277123

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I would like to acknowledge everybody who played a role in my academic accomplishments. First, my parents, that supported me with motivation, love and appreciation. Then my siblings, for helping me out, without you, I could never have reached this level of success. Secondly, my committee members, each of whom has provided patient advice and guidance throughout the research process. Lastly, my supervisor for his thoughtful advices and guidance throughout the process. Your untiring support was motivation for me. Thankyou.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my *beloved Parents*

ABSTRACT

Kashmir is an unresolved dispute since its inception. In addition, it added more to the misery of Kashmiri people when the extremist BJP government revoked the special status of Kashmir. Moreover, imposed curfew, cutting all the means of communication. The two South Asian rival neighbors, which were not able to settle this issue until date were again at war. South Asia is famous as so-called nuclear flash point of the world. Both India and Pakistan have always relied on third party involvement for resolution of disputes. Moreover, US always played a role of a mediator instead of being an arbitrator as both sides were reluctant and consider this issue to get resolved by negotiation and they were least welcoming to comply with the final verdict or decisions of any arbitrator. Nevertheless, since the Indo-US nuclear deal is signed in 2008, US role as a mediator failed. There is, nothing much left for Pakistan except for drawing international attention to human rights abuses in the valley. In the past UN passed many resolutions to resolve this disturbing issue but nothing was helpful. Both the parties to the conflict could not come at the same page whenever the possible options were discussed. Different models were disused and proposed but all were just restricted to papers not having any practical implications. However, with the help of powerful states like US, China, both the parties to the conflict could come at negotiating table. Facilitating peace and security for the Kashmir region. India, being pushed, by the international community could come forward for the stability of state and region at large.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CASE STUDY OF KASHMIR	1
CERTIFICATE OF PLAGIARISM	5
DECLARATION	6
ACKNOWLEDGMENT	7
DEDICATION	8
ABSTRACT	9
TABLE OF CONTENTS	10
INTRODUCTION	12
Hypothesis	15
Research Objectives	16
Significance	16
Methodology	16
1.1 Literature Review and theoretical framework	18
Chapter 2	34
Possible solutions to the Kashmir conflict.	34
2.1 Proposals since 1947.	34
2.1.2 The Chenab formula 1960	36
2.1.3 Sumit Ganguly's Proposal	38
2.1.4 Selig Harrison's Proposal: The Trieste Model	39
2.1.5 Robert Wirsing's Proposal	41
2.1.6 The Third Option - An Independent Kashmir	42
2.1.7 U.S. Brokered Tripartite Dialogue	44
2.1.8 Divided Kashmir Proposal by Mushtaq Ur Rehman	44
2.1.9 Kashmir Study Group (KSG) Proposal of Shared sovereignty	46
2.1.10 The Lahore Declaration	48
2.1.11 Andorra Model	49
2.1.12 The Irish Model	51
2.1.13 Musharraf's 4 points formula and proposal for Demilitarization of Seven Zones	52
2.1.14 Sumantra Bose's Proposal	54
2.2 Conclusion	55
Chapter 3	57
	10

Pressures involved in Kashmir conflict.	57
3.1 UN in Kashmir conflict resolution:	57
3.2 Role of China	63
3.3 European Union (EU) Role	64
3.4 Kashmiri Diaspora in Kashmir Conflict Resolution	65
3.5 Role of US	67
3.6 Islamic Countries involved in Kashmir conflict resolution.	68
Conclusion	72
Chapter 4	74
Analysis	74
Conclusion	102
References.	106

INTRODUCTION

The Kashmir conflict is one of the longest running conflict until date. Although it can be argued that the seven decades of conflict is rather modest in an historical perspective, the conflict is commonly depicted in terms of ‘enduring’ and ‘protracted’. Defined by Paul as a, “*persistent, fundamental, and long term incapability of goals between two states*” (Paul, 2005). This was further emphasized by Wyman; arguing that the India-Pakistan rivalry is among the persistent conflict dyads born feuding. The dispute, which began as a bilateral dispute over territorial rights, stemmed from India's claims to control the entire state of Jammu and Kashmir, and Pakistan's invincibility over Indian-administered Kashmir. The claims have spread internationally. Growing public discontent in the 1980s led to the emergence of new members, as well as a wide range of goals and interests. (Paul, 2005). With the increasingly complex and multidimensional nature, the conflict has become increasingly ideological on all sides.

Kashmir issue that has defied resolution for more than 70 years. The revocation of the two Articles of the Indian constitution (Article 35A and 370) ended the autonomous special status of Kashmir and the aggressive takeover of the disputed region by the racist Modi government has further India’s stance. (Aljazeera,

2020). After eight months of the revocation of article 35A, India on April 1, 2020, India introduced a new Kashmir domicile law. Those who have been residents for more than a period of fifteen years in Kashmir were eligible to be a permanent resident under this law. The J&K Civil Services describes it as the one who has been residing in a place for a period of fifteen years in the region of IOK or has been a student there for the timespan of seven years and appeared in matric class or Inter examination in educational institution situated in that region. (The News, 2020) Notwithstanding this basic premise, there are approaches that can be adopted to resolve this seemingly intractable conflict.

Kashmir has witnessed unprecedented bloodshed and violence and needs a peaceful resolution to the prevailing mayhem; More than 100,000 have died over past seven decades. (The new humanitarian, 2019) There have been gross violations of human rights and three wars were fought, between India and Pakistan over Kashmir. (Asia-pacific, 2019) Both claim Kashmir as their own.

Today Kashmir is the most militarized zone with 700,000 Indian troops occupying the area forcefully (Forbes, 2016). The forces of occupation are perpetrating heinous atrocities and human right violation on the local population. Under the protection of different acts such as the Special Powers Act for Armed forces (AFSPA), the safety for the Public Act (PSA), Terrorist and Disruptive Activities Act (TADA) they can get them away with murder and rape. According to Mirza Waheed a Kashmiri journalist currently living in London said, 'Violence will not end Kashmir conflict'. (Aljazeera, 2017) However, ignoring Kashmir and its situation, peace in the region is not possible.

As per UNSCR, the Jammu and Kashmir state had to decide whether which state it had to accede through the autonomous method of a free and fair plebiscite however, this has not happened thus far. Indian occupation of Jammu and Kashmir continues because the international community accepts it as such. (UN report, 2018) Above twenty-five United Nations, resolutions were operational for the peaceful resolution of the dispute to give Kashmiris their right of self-determination but then again India was unwilling to do so. (Dr. Raja Muhammad Khan, NDU JOURNAL, 2015). By rejecting the execution of the UN resolutions, and occupying the state against the wishes of the people, India is violating international law. Unfortunately, there had been no serious pressure from International community or the United Nations on India to abide by the norms prescribes to put a stop under the international law to its more than seventy years reign of terror. Unfortunately, there had been no serious pressure from International community or the United Nations on India to put a stop to its more than seventy years reign of terror. The main reason for ignoring human rights violation Jammu and Kashmir stems from the fact that major economic powers consider India a big market as Indian exports have increased from 1.6 percent gradually per year to US\$ 356.96 billion in April-November 2019 of approximately (India brand equity foundation, 2019). Another stark reality is that most of the powerful countries are big exporters of arms and warlike stores to India and for that reason; they do not want peace in the region. Even most important Muslim countries have shown total support for Indian action in Muslim-majority Kashmir, and not expressed a single word of condemnation. SIPRI, in a report mentioned India as the second biggest arms importer of the world and 23rd arms exporter. (Economic times, 2020)

Pakistani PM Imran Khan in his tweet condemned India and called them Nazis of the time and their regime as Fascist regimes, showing his concern for Kashmir.” (Twitter, 18 Aug 2019)

Soon after the abrogation of the Jammu and Kashmir special status, by revoking Article 370 and 35A tensions rose among the South Asian states. This illegal annexation was preceded by one of the largest crackdowns in the history of Kashmir that continued in the Indian state taking custody of the key leaders, blockage of communication and 180,000 fresh troops patrolling the streets that was surreptitiously ferried in Kashmir a week before article 370 was revoked. (Jinnah Institute publication, 2019)

Argument

The conflict in Indian occupied Jammu and Kashmir can only be resolved if there is enough internal pressure from within India, Kashmir and Pakistan and from outside (big powers, Islamic countries, UN, EU etc.) to bring the Indian government to the negotiating table to discuss and resolve the issue.

This study aims to answer following questions.

1. What are the chances of international mediation to resolve the Kashmir conflict?
2. How Kashmir conflict can be transformed with the help of domestic pressure and external pressure could bring the conflicting parties to the negotiating table.

Hypothesis

The conflict in Indian occupied Kashmir can be resolved, if there is enough pressure to bring the conflicting parties to the negotiating table.

Research Objectives

This research will analyze the chances of international mediation to resolve the Kashmir conflict. In addition, how this mediation could be helpful in ending this seven decades old issue. Along with that, this research will be helpful in analyzing the transformation of Kashmir conflict with the help of domestic pressure and external pressure could bring the conflicting parties to the negotiating table.

Significance

This study will help researchers and writers to analyze the case of Kashmir in a new light. Along with that, it will provide a new descriptive and analytical understanding of how internal domestic pressure and external pressure could transform the conflict. This research will be helpful in understanding the future of Kashmir and how can this issue be resolved using conflict transformation approach.

Methodology

The research is a case study. It is used as my research method because it allowed me to explore and understand the complexity of the Kashmir issue. Through this case study method, a researcher would be able to go beyond the quantitative statistical results, understand the behavioral conditions through the actor's perspective, and analyze the external and internal actors in resolving Kashmir conflict.

Both quantitative and qualitative data would be used. For the qualitative method, interviews would be used as a research tool. A group of five to fifteen

experts from different backgrounds will be opted for the interviews. This will include those, who are aware of the Indian history and mind-set of stone walling the resolution of Kashmir conflict. Experts will include defense and security studies specialists affiliated with universities, those with military backgrounds, diplomats and those working in research organizations dealing with Kashmir issue. Along with that, the stakeholders related to Kashmir issue i.e. Professors, civil servants, diplomats, security analysts, and scholars. Interviews will be conducted in person, through emails and telephone in order to get necessary information how Kashmir conflict can head towards any kind of resolution and how they think it can get better keeping in view their expertise.

To facilitate the qualitative data, quantitative method will also be employed. The quantitative data will include the statistics from the human security department and people related to them, that includes health, education, military, law, policymaking and other related government sectors.

Secondary data sources will also be used that will include online and documentary tools consisting of critical and empirical research on the Kashmir issue. Secondary sources are retrieved through libraries, knowledge resource centers, and online repositories such as LexisNexis, JSTOR, EBSCO Host, etc.

Chapter 1.

Literature Review and theoretical framework.

1.1 Literature Review and theoretical framework

Conflict, for centuries, has been a part of the human experience. Historically, it has occurred at both the individual and group level, with broader conflict taking the form of group-based discord and dissent (Pruitt 1998). It is a phenomenon that arises out of dissatisfaction, and can be defined as ‘deeper struggles over unsatisfied human needs that require resolution’ (Rams Botham et al, 2011).

Conflict resolution is ‘a form of resolving disagreements which may be manifested at different levels of society,’ according to Sanson and Bretherton (2001). Looking at conflict resolution from conflict transformation lens using peaceful means used for examining the conflict above, it can be determined that conflict resolution incorporates the process of transformation as well, and not just the ending it. International conflict resolution, especially, involves state-based resolution that involves a nuanced approach to the control of conflict. This definition has shifted greatly in academia. For example, John Paul Lederach describes conflict transformation as the change processes, which clearly focus on creating positives from the difficult. It encourages greater understanding of underlying relational and

structural patterns while building creative solutions that improve relationships. (John Paul Lederach, 2003)

The peaceful transformation of any violent conflict is possible when the political, military, economic and cultural problems of the opposing parties are resolved. In the process of change, politicians are less suitable because in young democracies, political representatives live in hegemonic relations with their supporters. Therefore, in the interests of peace and the rule of law, agents of social change, the civil society, NGOs, INGOs, immigrants, national identity groups and the media, should be considered for the political process involved in active civil diplomacy. (L Haroon, 2018). Conflict-transformation theory by Johan Galtung (Galtung, 2007) and John Paul Lederach (Lederach, 1995) will guide this research. The major target of this approach will be examining the internal and external pressure, which will bring the conflicting parties India and Pakistan to the negotiating table that will be helpful in resolving Kashmir conflict to concentrate on the strategies that would facilitate to dilute the strength of conflict and to produce positive change. The prospect of peaceful change will depend on internal and external pressures as well as the productive role of states and internationally favourable conditions. However, coercive and coercive conflicts between the state and community parties have escalated the conflict, which has ultimately led to a worsening military presence and unavailability of necessities. (Miall, 2004).

Conflict is non-linear. For better or worse, it depends on the key players, their current strategies and government counter-strategies, and the ability of the security forces to control the situation. (D Suba Chandran, 2010) The unfortunate fact is that the violation of the curfew has been deliberately, demanded by several leaders to injure Kashmir. The military unrest is turning into civil unrest in Kashmir.

In Kashmir, funeral processions have become even more violent and political, creating a vicious circle. Whatever the nature of the current crisis and the government's failure to deal with it, it is certainly not automatic. There is a clear orchestration here, and the people behind the riots want it to spread to other cities and rural areas. This will be another tragic leaf in the history of violence in Kashmir.

Self-determination, in its most basic sense, consists of freedom from foreign domination and the ability to determine one's own political future. The concept of self-determination is enshrined in Article 2 of the UN Charter. The principle basically, allows people freely choose their political status and determine their own social, economic and cultural status. International law is very clear based on this principle, Article 1 of the UN Charter relates to the right to self-determination. It had previously entered the Atlantic Ocean. Charter and Dumbarton Oaks, developed in the United Nations Charter. Incorporate this principle into the UN Charter Global recognition for maintaining peaceful and friendly relations between member countries (MG, 1975). For more than seven decades, the people of the last princely state of Jammu and Kashmir have been waiting for their right to self-determination, guaranteed by the United Nations. There are more than 25 UN resolutions requiring competition regulation. India is unwilling to recognize the Kashmiris as their right to self-determination. By preventing executions from achieving UN goals and involving the state through an organization of more than 900,000 military personnel, India is ignoring international law and UN goals. Over the last quarter, Indian security officials stationed in India-administered Kashmir (IHK) have reported gross human rights violations. Competition for the state of Jammu and Kashmir is a question of the Kashmiris' right to self-determination. (Muhammad Adnan Sheikh, 2019)

An important question in assessing the effectiveness of conflict resolution is whether the focus should be on ending violence or whether success can be achieved only after the conflict has completely transformed (Jabri, 1995). In Kashmir, a legacy of hostility and mistrust not only complicated negotiations but also impeded the actions of extremists who have been drawn into conflict for many years. With little or no signs of an effective end to military coups or human rights abuses by Indian security forces, the Kashmiri secession continues to generate public outrage in anticipation of the exploitation of extremists. This made it extremely difficult to establish a viable and sustainable dialogue between the central parties (International Crisis Group 2005). Focused on conflict management rather than conflict resolution (Paul, 2005, 46). This makes it difficult to pinpoint any specific successes or failures in conflict resolution. The efforts of the international mediator have played an important role in reducing tensions. However, the resolution of this conflict has generally had little effect (Wallenstein, 2007). Galtung also supported the unsuccessful approach. In presenting the concept of positive peace, Galtung stated unequivocally that peace is more than “the absence of war” (Galtung 1985). By pointing to examples of violations of social and political rights, classes, division and group backwardness in Kashmir, to some extent the existence of structural violence in Kashmir may indicate a fundamental failure to resolve the dispute. (Galtung, 1990 & Weble, 2009).

The Kashmir problem has existed for sixty years since the departure of the British colonial rulers and the subcontinent was divided between Pakistan and India, but the problem remains unresolved. The promise to decide the future of the Kashmiri people was never given. (Resolving Kashmir: imperatives and solutions, 2014). The various complications arising from the continuity of the dispute and the

various issues and demands, as well as the persistence of the position on this issue, still require immediate attention. Over the years, India and Pakistan have been tied to each other, experimenting with nuclear weapons, gathering troops at the border. However, the post-Cold War events, their regional implications and the fact that security threats are changing, have created the conditions for Indian-Pakistani relations and a rethinking of the Kashmir problem. Today, a generally traditional interest in national security paves the way for a new debate on human security, and hard boundaries pave the way for softer borders and development in terms of regional cooperation. On the economic front, China is challenging India and its regional aid, while India's trade route to the West is hampered by lack of access to Pakistan. The author says these events could lead to better relations and a solution to the future of Kashmir and its people, thousands of whom have died as a result of the conflict. Since 1947, the Northern Ireland-style Good Friday Agreement has offered a variety of solutions ranging from condominiums, to no avail. The concept developed in the summary cannot be applied to a problem as complex as Kashmir. But there are lessons to be learned from resolving such disputes, even if the Kashmir issue has its own specific parameters. The region's challenge is to make the most of existing opportunities. In this regard, the international community and South Asian Regional Cooperation (SAARC) have a role to play in promoting the peace process. India and Pakistan have been unable to develop friendly relations despite several attempts in the past to initiate a sustainable peace process. (Dr. Anita Bhatt, 2018)

Most scholars are unanimous in their opinion that Kashmir is a long outstanding dispute that needs urgent resolution. This basic theory is regionally and internationally recognized. A Kashmiri, Prem Nath Bazaz founder of the two political parties Kashmiri socialist Party and Kisan Mazdoor Conference was

Kashmiri politician, scholar and author. He was a secularist and a populist who was disliked, by his own Kashmiri pandit community and certainly by Kashmiri Muslims for his open-minded and significant values and views about the Kashmir's future. He in his book *The History of Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir* (1954) provided an obscure opinion on the policies of both India and Pakistan towards Kashmir. In introduction of his book, he had written that It was the voice of the one who believed that the Kashmir's future, due to its past traditions and culture, is inseparably linked with both its neighbours that are fighting over this region since 1945. However, Kashmir belonged to Kashmiris and not the Maharaja, and neither any of its outsider. Any right to decide their future belongs to the Kashmiri people only. He concludes that the independence for Kashmir is not reasonable, and that accession to Pakistan is probably the best solution.

Czech diplomat and father of former US Secretary of State Madeline Albright, Joseph Korbel provides an outstanding exhibition of the many complex factors, which starts from the Kashmir dispute between the two rival neighbours India and Pakistan in his book *Dangers in Kashmir* (1954). The author was a member of commission for India and Pakistan conveys his narrative first-hand experience in this book. He discussed that the dispute is serious but India is failing to identify the dangerous practices the Communist Powers that can split the sub-continent. Author mentioned all the early efforts done by UN had played an important role in preserving peace in Kashmir soon after the independence. He criticise the fact that Owen Dixon Mediation failed and showed regrets, because of Indian inflexibility. He also mentions other efforts such as the Commonwealth mediations, Frank P. Graham Mediations (1952), Bilateral Negotiations in order to solve Kashmir issue diplomatically but these failed to make any headway. In his opinion, the essential

good will is the key for resolution of the dispute and without that; even the most ingenious proposal is destined to fail.

Unlike the 1948 UN-backed ceasefire agreement, the 1972, Agreement was the “Simla Agreement” on “bilateral relations between the government of India and the government of Pakistan,” attempting to induce the parties to reconciliation. Then both sides expressed their intention to put an end to conflicts and start working on the development of friendly and harmonious relations and lasting peace. Since then, however, there has been controversy over its interpretation (Creepon, 2004). While India continued to insist on the illegality of Pakistan's claims, Pakistan argued for the need to satisfy the wishes of the Kashmiris (Versing 1994). However, both India and Pakistan have expressed their desire to end the dispute over Kashmir. What is, and is not intended to offer any significant concessions. In this case, the unsuccessful negotiations on the Siachen Glacier can be seen as clear evidence of the inability of the parties to come to an agreement on relatively minor issues, which lasted from 1986 to 1992. As the results of several rounds of bilateral meetings ended uncertainly, it seemed that, the two countries have been more attached to their original positions. (Schofield, 2000).

Stephen Philip Cohen in ‘‘India, Pakistan and Kashmir’’ (Journal of Strategic Studies Vol 25, 2002)’, said that the conflict between India and Pakistan took a new, turn in nuclear terms, converting South Asia one of the most hazardous places in the world. The Kashmir dispute is only reason for the skirmish and opposition between the two states. That conflict is inflexible and hard to handle, and it might be impossible to resolve, because of the opposite minority, conflict in which each side consider themselves as endangered and exposed, and thus go against negotiation and cooperation. Jammu and Kashmir, after the partition of India in

1947, became a hotbed of conflict between India and Pakistan and is now a potential center for nuclear proliferation in Asia. Monitoring the realities of the Kashmir dispute and establishing the legal status of Jammu and Kashmir's accession to India. Despite several attempts at mediation, the UN Security Council failed to find a final solution to the dispute. The author sheds light on the possible causes of this failure and proposes a possible solution to the dispute, which is acceptable to all parties. (Baibhaw Gahlaut, 2014)

In another book, *Demystifying Kashmir* (2006), author Navnita Chadha is a former visiting scholar at the Brookings Institution. She is the author of *State, Identity and Violence: Jammu, Kashmir, Ladakh, and other books* and she has written broadly on South Asian region. Authors presents the truth about both, the Jammu region and valley by giving an account on the history of the state for some 50 years. She evidently described the status of Kashmir for India. However, it is the Muslim majority state. However, by having, the region of Kashmir, India approves its acquisitive nature. Even, the majority there are Muslims. Whereas, Pakistan whose existence is expressly supportive for the Muslim identity. The Jammu and Kashmir region that is home to people from different races, social group, ethnicities, languages, and religions makes up one amongst the foremost various regions within the region. The author argues that recognizing the conflict made the issue, complex, and multi-faceted. Also made the region important while providing the understanding about the structural causes of this conflict. Behera additionally reflects on the devastation of the 2005 earthquake and its implications for the long run for the region. Furthermore, this book clearly explained that solution for this conflict was not expected anytime soon. The most powerful nations, US, Russia, China and Europe, are not involved in this conflict. Their main concern is that

Pakistan and India might not get involved into a nuclear war. Particularly, since India has power to maintain its and illegal occupation and Pakistan has very little support to stop Indian intervention in the valley.

Rodrigo Tavares a Portuguese born academic, businessperson and a person who had written annual reports, for the UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon on Africa's development. That was presented to the General Assembly. He in his article, 'Resolving the Kashmir Conflict: Pakistan, India, Kashmiris and Religious Militants', (Asian Journal of Political Science, 2008), presents a conflict resolution outline to address the Kashmir conflict. He suggested a roadmap for the peace based on that framework, which includes numerous steps as confidence building measures, restoration of the unequal original status of Jammu and Kashmir and, finally, shared sovereignty between India and Pakistan. Which could be helpful in restoring the relations to get better.

George Perkovich in 'External Factors: Facilitating Military and Political Stability in South Asia'' (2010), provides an in-depth view of regional stability in the Indian subcontinent. However, Pakistani Approach has invariably been impartial and fair. The Pakistani government has sustained that J&K has been a controversial territory. The state's accession to India in 1947 was revisionary and was done under the powerful pressure in the presence of Indian military. The controversial status of J&K was acknowledged within the August 13, 1948, UN council resolutions of and in June 1949, to that each Pakistan and India in agreement. However, India discredited it invariably. Talks between India and Pakistan over a long-standing dispute over Jammu and Kashmir were aimed at ensuring the right of Kashmiris to self-determination. In accordance with this right, a free, fair vote was conducted under international control, as agreed in the UN Council Resolutions of 1948-1949;

however, it could not help Jammu and Kashmir. Shimla talks of July 1972 between India and West Pakistan regarding the longer-term standing of J&K were conducted in conformity and the connectedness of UN council resolutions. The Indian government never welcomed a dialogue in this problematic situation. In addition, until date the problem is not resolved.

Anurag Chakma is a Research Assistant of (SAYPPS), while; Saifuddin Ahmed is an Associate Professor and Chairman in the Department of Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Dhaka, Bangladesh while Dhaka, have identified Kashmir as the key hindrance to peace in the region. These two scholars are of opinion that this conflict, is the most obstinate and longstanding conflict in South Asia, which if not resolved can become a lethal one. In addition, it is a source of arms race and can turn the south Asian region into a war zone. (Ahmed and Chakma, 2012)

S.A. Gillani and Abdul Hakeem presented a fair account of Kashmiri situation. A keen and constant rationalization of Kashmir's freedom struggle for over the last sixty-five years, and a detail of its leading figure, Syed Ali Geelani, that gets behind the label of Indian Muslims termed as terrorists. A significant world crisis, geographical area is that the root of tensions and explanation for disagreement between India and Pakistan, the two nuclear states of South Asia, UN agency have fought three wars over it. The basic issue is of the right of self-determination of Kashmir's fifteen million individuals, a right denied to them since 1947. Since 1989, more than ninety thousand individuals are killed, above one lac are scraped, and ten thousand are missing, and mass graves still be unearthed. Book describes the story of the struggle for national freedom of the individuals of Jammu and geographical area, headed by Syed Ali Shah Geelani. This radical life history of geographical

area's leading insurrectionist discloses verity dismay of the Kashmir dispute, the undercurrents of the historical struggle for the self-determination right, and Geelani's massive support in leading this aspect for freedom. (The Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir, 2013)

In the article, ‘Kashmir conflict: Tracing the history suggesting a solution’ (2014) authors, presented an insight of Kashmir issue that is still not resolved. The conflict that was supposed to be territorial, have involved over years sentiments and sacrifices of the people. The Indian army has subjugated Kashmiri people and they have been suppressed since day one of occupation. The reason of failure of any peace process and negotiation was non-inclusion of the Kashmiri representation in the process. Author mentioned that the all the conflict resolution efforts and proposals either by Pakistan of Kashmir should find some middle ground solutions so that they could be accepted by the stakeholders. They mentioned free flow of people and trade will satisfy all the parties to conflict with their interest creating a win-win situation on all the sides.

In the book, *Neither Hawk nor a Dove* (2015), Musharraf's foreign minister Khurshid Mahmud Kasuri has described that Musharraf's four points had the potential of resolving the Kashmir as an out of box solution. Author analysed relations with India, particularly after the conflicts in the arena of international law and human rights, subsequent to 9/11. While dealing with the confrontation in Afghanistan, Pakistan had to be careful, while being at good terms with the United States and keeping both the Arabs and Iran at good terms too. Author mentioned general Musharraf four-stage formula on Kashmir issue and its resolution while adding the role of army played in the peace process.

British author, Victoria Schofield, in her article, ‘‘Why Kashmir is still important’’ (Asian Affairs Journal Vol 46, 2015) said that Politicians and policy makers were not treating Kashmir as a priority. She argued that this was a grave mistake. The conflict had scarred the lives of millions within the region for many years and it is required to be resolved. The domestic accounts at intervals India and Islamic Republic of Pakistan deepened. Kashmir issue resolution would end many tensions. This scenario altogether would undermines the human rights of the inhabitants of Kashmir. It restricts trade and diverts attention towards the conflict. A resolution of the conflict would have larger advantages within the region, progressing to Afghanistan and China. Lastly, the author analyzed the sensible ways that of failure the Kashmir problem.

Bidisha Biswas is a Bengali Professor of Political Science and Fellow policy adviser to the United States Department of State. She had worked on international security, diaspora and immigration related issues. She had worked on international security, and problems related to immigration. Biswas is of opinion that Kashmir is one in every of the world’s most prolonged and probably dangerous conflict. Although international community has sturdy interest in restrictive intense relations between the two states, third party action geared toward improvement area unit terribly restricted. This varies with overall international mediation efforts that had increased within the post-Cold War era. She had informed with her views that each strategic and imaginary motivations that had influenced its selections. Especially, India’s strict adherence to the principle of strategic sovereignty halts the likelihood of accepted external mediation creating the problem as bilateral ones. (Biswas, 2017)

In the book, Kashmir at Crossroad: The Partition’s Unfinished Agenda (2017), authors claims that the rigidity in the Indian position was a result of the two

wars i.e. of 1965 and 1971. This perspective somewhat toughened the 1999 Kargil war. South Asian region remained on the brink of war since its inception along with the trouble in 2002 standoff and the contemporary scuffles in Azad Kashmir. Contrarily, each Asian nation and India had prescribed the international organization resolutions, including, the consent of the state of Jammu and Kashmir would can only be determined through free and impartial vote under the UN supervision. The Indian strategy was to achieve time on the cause that “Indians would act accordingly but first Pakistan would settle for a settlement mandatory by the Indians”. Further India pleaded that Pakistan joined defense agreements with the west, which is a threat for India. Now, India needs to debate disregarding the core issue of Kashmir. Resultantly, the individuals of Kashmir are at the mercy tyrant Indian Forces and that they are suffering the foremost. The Kashmiri people are looking at the world to come forward for an honest settlement of this long unresolved dispute. As, this case might increase the nuclear threats. Given 70 years of relations between Pakistan and India, including several wars, and considering that the governments of Islamabad and New Delhi do not face political pressure, a peaceful solution, nationally or internationally, to serious negotiations with each other the Kashmir dispute seems unbelievable. Moreover, there is no international organization or power. A third party, politically or militarily, supports Kashmiris in opposition to India and Pakistan. Therefore, the governments of Pakistan and India can ignore the aspirations and ideologies of Kashmiris. The political future of our region. Due to the physical and social segregation imposed on them, Along with the Kashmir dispute, Kashmiris are also politically unimportant to Pakistan and India (Sundanese, 2015).

Samra Farrukh Ansari, Dr. Maria Saifuddin Effendi and Dr. Riffat Haque in their writing, ‘‘Problem Solving Decision Making Model in Kashmir Conflict Resolution: Prospects and Challenges’’ (2019), suggested that Kashmir conflict needs a workable resolution. While proposing a PSDM model they suggested that it is a way to diagnose the warfare through analyzing all of the elements of battle meaningful to involve within the manner of problem fixing. Through this approach, authors outlined numerous aspects of the struggle equipped in an exceedingly free declaration. The author suggested that the application of this model could bring India and Pakistan to the negotiating table, at least keeping in view all the steps of the PSDM model and meeting the criteria for resolving the issue. This will facilitate the parties 'desire to exercise the Kashmiris' right to self-determination. This will give the parties a better understanding of how to stick to each other's interests and positions on the dispute. Decisions must be made and implemented. Furthermore, the parties must be held accountable for ongoing human rights violations that need to be reversed. India and Pakistan have to interact in an exceedingly property dialogue to debate and seek for a solution for their core issues associated with Kashmir. Kashmir deserves peace, as it is being the center of problems throughout the past seventy-three years.

India-Pakistan confidence building measures and Internal Dialogues are a Catalyst for Peace. (The Diplomat, 2016) Peace talks between Pakistan and India have not produced tangible results over the past ten years. Just as Kargil thwarted the 1999 peace process due to a lack of consensus within Pakistan, the current contradiction in India's policy to negotiate with Pakistan and undermine traditional instability is illegal. It is important to reach an internal consensus between the two countries on what should be done after the peace process. Open internal dialogue

will, in fact, be the deepest confidence-building measure India and Pakistan can have. To some extent, there is such an internal consensus in Pakistan. Opening of Kartarpur Corridor was a Gesture of Peace from Pakistan side towards India. (Strafasia, 2019) Kartarpur corridor was opened on November 9, 2019 as a confidence building measure to bring in peace between India and Pakistan after the pulwana attack and abrogation of Article 35a and 370. Pakistan had expressed pluralism for all other minorities while India had locked Jamia Masjid in Srinagar and does not allowed Muslims to offer Friday prayers. That was an obvious violation of the right to worship which is a basic human right. The Indian Supreme Court announced the Ayodhya verdict on the historic day of the opening of Kartarpur corridor to divert attention from this event of religious tolerance and intercultural exchange. This is a manifestation of domination of majoritarianism in India under the currents of Hindutva ideology.

The ceasefire negotiated in 2003 has decreased the number of dangerous incidents between Indian and Pakistani soldiers and entailed some confidence-building measures such as cross-LoC travel and trade opportunities for Kashmiris, interactions across the LoC have remained more symbolic than substantial. The symbol is more than enough. Moreover, these initiatives have not yet begun and should not be encouraged. Diplomatic efforts to bring the Kashmiris, Pakistani and Indian governments closer together dispute Resolution (Bali & Akhtar 2017). Despite the end of the war, peace in Kashmir was transient and volatile due to repeated ceasefire violations and Pakistani militants, and Indian military kills Kashmiri protesters and freedom fighters Kashmir, aggravating political relations between New Delhi and Islamabad (Mahmoud & Mogul, 2018), perpetrated other serious incidents such as the 2008 Mumbai attacks.

Kashmir had emerged as a major flashpoint between South Asia's nuclear-armed rivals, India and Pakistan again after the abrogation of the article 35A and 370. The Indian government's August 2019 withdrawal of statehood status for the Muslim-majority Jammu and Kashmir region intensified disaffection among separatists and the Kashmiri public. (United states institute of peace, 2019) Kashmir has been a center of discontent since August 2019, when the Indian government changed the special constitutional status of Jammu and Kashmir and divided it into two "central areas" under direct federal control. New Delhi's strategy is to consolidate control over Kashmir by creating space for pro-India politics. Pakistan has devised a strategy aimed at questioning the current bilateral ceasefire on diplomatic grounds and increasing tensions in Kashmir as tensions on the border escalate. Although the possibility of a bilateral effort to resolve the Kashmir dispute in the near future seems unlikely, both sides can see the benefits of dialogue. When the time comes, both sides should return to the "Kashmir formula", which was agreed upon and finally agreed upon through the communication channels in 2004-2007. (Jacob, 2019)

Chapter 2

Possible solutions to the Kashmir conflict.

For centuries, poets and travelers termed Kashmir a paradise. However, that heaven was turned into a tragic reality. The issue is so complex that the two countries have fought three wars over it in 70 years. Nothing separates India and Pakistan like Kashmir and no one has suffered more than the Kashmiri people in this process have. There have been several bilateral and multilateral attempts to solve the Kashmir conundrum. The merits and demerits of these proposals are discussed below.

2.1 Proposals since 1947.

Kashmir is registered as an issue that requires resolution in the UN since 1948. The details of the initiatives undertaken under the auspices need a careful examination.

2.1.1 United Nations Security Council Resolutions (UNSCR) and Owen Dixon's Proposal for Kashmir.

India was the first country that took the issue of Kashmir to the UN. The first UNSCR on Kashmir was passed on January 17, 1948. Titled as the Question of India-Pakistan; it called upon the two countries on take action to improve the situation in Kashmir and refrain from any action that could worsen the situation. On January 20, 1948, the United Nations Commission on India and Pakistan (UNCIP) was formed to investigate the dispute between the two countries in Kashmir and use influential mediation. (Tooba Khurshid, 2016)

UNSCR 47 of August 13, 1948 and January 5, 1949, called for referendum as a substitute for settling the Kashmir debate. The goals were to set out the standards and systems for a fair and unprejudiced poll under the UN umbrella. Both India and Pakistan approved these goals but, later opposed over the change of different statements mainly, those relating to the disarmament of Jammu and Kashmir. (MOFA)

In 1950, an Australian judge Owen Dixon was selected as the UN mediator. Dixon made an effort to discuss the Azad Kashmir region by proposing that managerial duties to be assigned to the proximate experts. United Nations officials would administer as the region's magistrates. India overruled this proposition. Dixon then put forward setting up a solitary government for the entire Jammu Kashmir state during the time of the plebiscite. The alliance that government could be made from two previously antagonistic parties; a nonpartisan organization by confiding in people outside legislative issues; or an official established of UN agents. (Josef Korbel, *Dangers in Kashmir*, 1966).

Unfortunately, both India and Pakistan objected on this proposal. Exasperated by Indian and Pakistani opposition, two alternative proposals were given by Dixon. The principal involved region-to-region plebiscite, allocating every region either to Pakistan or to India, as per the vote. A minor way out of this proposal was to divide these areas between Pakistan and India, for which a vote in this province would inevitably result, limiting the Kashmir Valley referendum. Pakistan has questioned the proposal because India has promised to hold a debate in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. India has shown the ability to think of a referendum, but is limited to only one, the Kashmir Valley and some nearby areas. However, Indian recommendations regarding the sharing of different territories between Pakistan and

India were ineffectively one-sided. Dixon on Indian recommendations said that he knew far more than he thought was appropriate. (Pakistan affairs, Vol 4).

Pakistan would not move from its stance. However, if it was given a valley, it can be straightened. However, this was unacceptable to India. If all else fails, Sir Owen Dixon makes another suggestion to both governments to divide the country and vote for the Valley. The referendum, which will be chaired by a competent assembly of UN officials, will require complete neutrality. Pakistan rejected the offer. (Josef Korbel, Dangers in Kashmir, 1966).

Dixon thought that the only way forward on the Kashmir issue was to first depoliticize it and subject it to a legal analysis. Dixon advocated putting the issue before an international adjudicatory body, like the International Court of Justice (ICJ) at The Hague. The correct legal position by the I C J could help alter the political discourse on this issue, for a just resolution. (Unravelling the Kashmir Knot, 2016)

This proposal came in with some pros and cons. This model provided Kashmiri's with the right of Self-determination, and provided them with their legitimate rights but unfortunately it was rejected by both the parties as it didn't allow for a third option, Ignoring the cultural, verbal and religious complexity of the Jammu and Kashmir. In addition, neither of the parties to the conflict wanted to lose it.

2.1.2 The Chenab formula 1960

The plan suggested in the 1960s for the division of Kashmir along the Chenab River. This will give Pakistan more land and thus a clear victory in its

protracted dispute with India. A win-win situation for Pakistan, which was certainly unacceptable to the Indians. The entire valley, where the majority of the population is Muslim, will be moved to the borders of Pakistan, as well as to the Muslim-majority areas of Jammu. (Defense Journal, Vol 6, 2003).

This idea gained traction during Musharraf period. It is based loosely on combination of two-nation theory and geographic feasibility of division of the state.

The Chenab Plan foresees the division of Kashmir along the Chenab Road. According to the Chenab formula, Pakistan may also recall Doaba, a narrow strip of land between Chenab and Ravi on the outskirts of Shakargarh, extending to the international border areas. Kargil could have come under Indian occupation, but it would have agreed to hand over Indian Territory to Pakistan from Kargil and beyond. Most parts of Jammu and Kashmir and the country to the left of Chenab, Jammu and Kashmir have a Hindu majority, while most of the west bank of the Chenab is Muslim. (Syed Riffat Hussain, 2009)

Niaz A. Naik, a former foreign secretary said that, the formula have been discussed all through the informal efforts to regulate relations between parties of the conflict, referred to as track-II diplomacy, and Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee “had additionally evinced interest in it”. The Chenab components gained attention in May 2003 when Azad Kashmiri Prime Minister Sardar Sikandar Hayat called on India and Pakistan to reverse the division of Jammu and Kashmir by delineating the boundaries of the Chenab River. “This is not a new idea, and I am not the main one who promotes it,” he said. The Longing that "India and Pakistan pay special attention to this concept in order to alleviate the plight of the Kashmiris,

in precise, and their own people in the standard, and therefore fulfil the long-standing desire for lasting peace in the region." (Kashmir archives 2003)

This proposal had some pro and some cons too. As, this proposal-addressed division on water line of Chenab, so water issue was discussed including division on behalf of religious majority areas. This was a positive point, but it largely ignored the dimensions of the issue focus was mainly on division and legalizing the status quo of the area oppressed by India.

2.1.3 Sumit Ganguly's Proposal

Sumit Ganguly, a leading Indian-American scholar, gave a proposal that clearly favored India. He argued that any option that did not recognize India's basic territorial integrity would fail the test of political feasibility. No government in India would stop Kashmir, even if it causes constant loss of blood and treasury. He said that this structural limit should not stop Initiating dialogue from New Delhi with Islamabad. This dialogue has become necessary on both sides, because "a combination of misunderstanding and inattention can lead to war." In the proposed talks, India should offer Pakistan an allowance and compensation, in three disputed areas: Sir Creek, Wheeler Dam and Siachen Glacier, as well as "limited territorial concessions along the Line of Control in Kashmir". In response for these concessions, New Delhi expected "active support for the insurgents" from Pakistan and would allow the Indian government to enter into negotiations with the insurgents. On a political agreement that he have "freedom" and "integration". In addition, merger with Pakistan would remain without dialogue.

As this proposal converts line of control into a recognized international boundary between India and Pakistan. India favored this highly however, it was rejected Pakistan.

This model had enjoyed a global support as it accepted ground reality as truth and avoided any disruptive change. However, it violates right of self-determination and divided Kashmiris that was not accepted by Pakistan.

2.1.4 Selig Harrison's Proposal: The Trieste Model

Italy and the Former Yugoslavia inspires this model. The citizens of Trieste were given permitted admittance to both the side of the border. The same solution became a recommendation for Kashmir, at the same time as giving autonomous status to it. Keeping defense, foreign affairs, communication and currency management to the aid of each India and Pakistan, leaving Kashmir impartial in all different subjects.

Selig Harrison, a noticeable American scholar, suggested that Indian-occupied Kashmir should be divided. Jammu and Ladakh should become part of India, at the same time the Kashmir Valley can be "united with the large Muslim centres in Jammu and Ladakh." According to Harrison, India could offer this "new state" "far-reaching sovereignty" as part of a test solution, and in return Pakistan could offer a similar diploma of sovereignty in Azad Kashmir. The new education could be self-sufficient in all areas except defense, foreign affairs, negotiation, foreign exchange, foreign resources, and change. Both India and Pakistan will withdraw their troops under UN supervision and will retain the right to redeploy them under certain circumstances. It is possible that Pakistan would eliminate its

leader of the Kashmiri rebels. The current LOC becomes would be consider as an international border. (Selg S. Harrison, 1992)

Since this border would be insecure under the trust agreement, Kashmiris can travel back and forth without Indian and Pakistani visas. Gilgit, Hunza and Baltistan may be part of Pakistan, so Pakistan would gains access to China. As a step, India should divide this country; annex most of Jammu and Ladakh to the Indian Union, even giving the new nation a special independent popularity, as well as in the Kashmir Valley and Jammu. Ladakh to a new nation to bring together a life size Muslim wallet. India must then give this new country some distance to gain sovereignty through a confidential response whereby Pakistan can grant Azad Kashmir the same diploma of sovereignty. Both New Delhi and Islamabad can delegate powers beyond defense, foreign affairs, communications and currency to these new companies.

The new territory will have freedom of trade and exchange. India, however, shows no signs or symptoms of moving down this path, as its current priority is to quell insurgency before taking political action. Supporters of the secular state fear that the self-sufficient, Muslim majority of Kashmir will seek independence or annexation from Pakistan, forcing ninety million Muslims in other parts of India to persist in the attack as potential conspirators. (Selig S. Harrison, 1992)

This model had some good positive points as Kashmiri's enjoys international support with people centric viewpoint. Moreover, to transform the dynamics of Kashmir conflict. However, along with that had some negative outcomes too that were Ignorance of the end goals of the Kashmiri freedom movement. In addition, putting too much assurance in CBMs to bring in peace in the region.

2.1.5 Robert Wirsing's Proposal

Robert Wirsing, a leading American security expert feels that the UNSR of 1948 and 1949 are no longer relevant. (India, Pakistan, and the Kashmir Dispute, 1998)

The conditions that offered legality to the ideas of plebiscite and right of self-determination have changed. Yet neither India nor Pakistan perceives this. Rather, both stay stuck to their conventional positions. Since the separation of the USSR, in the Post-Cold War era competition between great powers had reduced. These developments presently give a great chance to global intercession. Given changes in both the inward circumstance of Kashmir and the outer condition, Wirsing recommends that now 'global weight' can be applied 'all more intentionally, reliably and fairly', to determine the Kashmir issue. Wirsing links the international mediators 'uniform handedness' with 'regional reconciliation'. If all parties in the conflict, Indian, Pakistani, and Kashmiri are happy to give indications of compromise and shows co-operation, the issue could be resolved. He contends that the Kashmir struggle has powerfully affected the connections of the two India and Pakistan with the United States. Throughout the years, maybe, it had been its effect on Washington's choices about arms moves to the Kashmir. From 1947 forward, these connections could not be made, without calculating in their likely implications for the Kashmir regions most severe regional dispute. Kashmir conflict had similarly wide effect, in any case, on an entire scope of long-term US strategy interest in the south Asian region, including nuclear non-proliferation. A series of crises have undermined, besides, to grow into a full-scale war that could force involvement of the United States. Because of its friendly relations with India and Pakistan, the United States was subsequently in certain regards held prisoner to the Kashmir issue.

This issue could be dismissed, neglected but this cannot be avoided. (Wirsing, Robert G, 1998)

The Wirsing Proposal for Constructive External Engagement can only pursued international involvement but also involved third party mediation option with special focus on Kashmir as suffering spot. The foremost problem was with India that opposed this model along with that the model put Kashmiris tangled in global power dynamics that was unfair.

2.1.6 The Third Option - An Independent Kashmir

A Kashmiri Organization Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF), has proposed that the only possible and suitable solution for a rational, legitimate, democratic and attainable peace as the reunion of the divided Jammu-Kashmir State. In addition, democratic, federal and non-sectarian governments form an independent state with government. The State will maintain a neutral foreign policy aimed at maintaining friendly relations with both India and Pakistan. In addition, a referendum after 15 years under the auspices of the United Nations. It will decide whether the state will retain its independence forever, or become part of India or Pakistan instead. (Syed Riffat Hussain, 2009).

The project will be implemented in five phases under the leadership of an 11-member committee called the International Kashmir Committee (IKC). Each of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council will be included. The UN Secretary General will appoint one. The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) will be selected by the OVC (Islamic Organization). Also, one each from Germany and Japan. IKC will be responsible for implementing the solution formula in

collaboration with the governments of India and Pakistan. Each of the three parts of the state; and, all the political parties of Kashmir.

- The first stage involves discussing the details of the project with all the governments of India, Pakistan, Kashmir and all political parties and militant groups. After that, the agreement will be signed by all interested parties, and registered with the UN.
- The second phase implies the immediate withdrawal of India and Pakistan from the state.
- The third phase involves disarming the militants and deporting Kashmiris who have fled their homes and relocated to other places. However, those who lived between 1947 and 1989-90 will return to Kashmir permanently or stay in the country from which they migrated from Kashmir.
- The fourth phase will herald the unity of the state. This will include the opening of internal borders that have been closed since 1949, the formation of an interim national government, as well as councils under an interim government. General elections are held every 5 years or by government decision.
- The fifth and final stage will be a referendum on whether Kashmir should maintain its independence or become part of India or Pakistan. (Dr. Haider Hijazi, 1992).

Both sides of the governments exceedingly opposed a proposal that was the bad aspect of this model proposed. Contrariwise, it had some positive aspects too as it placed Kashmiris at the core stage. Broadening the scope of present available options.

2.1.7 U.S. Brokered Tripartite Dialogue

A dialogue to initiate systematic peace process through US managed negotiations. A Washington-based organization the Kashmir-American Council, including large number of Kashmiri-Americans with pro-Pakistan inclinations, proposed an active role of U.S, a mediator in Kashmir. It proposed a dialogue among the four parties, three among which are the parties to the conflict while US as a mediator. They named it as Active US mediation. This would initiate a gradual peace process through US supervised negotiations. The first step of it would include demilitarization of the area. Both Indian and Pakistani troops would return to their respective positions on the borders outside the Kashmir. A police force would remain there to administer the cease-fire line under UN observers. The proposal also indorses the U.S. use of its operative veto to stop the influx of IMF and World Bank group funds to India, to stop violations of human rights in Indian occupied Kashmir. This proposal was rejected by India. However, it was supported by Pakistan. Moreover, partially favored by the Kashmiri' people. (Saeed Shafqat, 1995)

The pros of this proposal included Involvement by a third party mediator; it was an incremental approach by US. This included some reservations too, which was the role of us as an honest broker as the role-played after 9/11was severely undermined.

2.1.8 Divided Kashmir Proposal by Mushtaq Ur Rehman

Divided Kashmir proposal took Indus Water Treaty as a model. Since the dispute between Jammu and Kashmir is an invention of hasty division of the subcontinent, it has not resolved the issue of assets, affiliation with the army and the states. Because this hasty process of partition did not give, the developing states

enough time to make rational decisions for effective control over their territories. Thus, the problem of attachment arose from the fact that the British seemed to be doing three things at once: ruling, transferring power, and hastily dividing and exiting. Leading British historian Alastair Lamb, in his book "Kashmir's Controversial Heritage", claims in the same vein that it took the British a hundred years to strengthen the Indian Empire. In 1947, it was abolished in seventy days.

A prominent Pakistani-American scientist, following the example of the 1960 Indus Waters Treaty, proposed a solution to the Kashmir problem by dividing the states of Jammu and Kashmir, which was based on a clear partition principle. The Indus River originates in Tibet, crosses the Himalayas, flows northwest of Jammu and Kashmir and flows through Ladakh. In this section, the proposed division of the Indus Basin runs from Chenab to the Karakorum Pass. The Jhelum River begins near the Zojila Pass, near the Vernag spring. Below the Kishanga junction, it forms the border between Jammu and Kashmir, as well as Khazar and Rawalpindi. The Jhelum Basin is a special territory of Pakistan. The source of Chenab is 150 miles south of Laya in the southern part of China's central Himalayas. Usually this river flows northwest parallel to Sindhu, then turns southwest and flows through the extreme southern corner of Jammu and Kashmir into Pakistan. Below Akhnur, the river splits into smaller channels that can form a dividing line. With good news, bilateral talks could divide the Chenab Basin and resolve the issue of Muslim-majority areas in the region. Resolution of the conflict requires a revolutionary policy reform that is acceptable to all parties, India, Pakistan and the people of Kashmir. Alternative to the allocation of river systems that would reflect the use of water in the Indus Water Treaty. This could be a real solution. Like the Indus Waters Treaty itself, the resolution to resolve the political status of Jammu and

Kashmir will receive broad support in the international community. It will also mark a bold step towards normalizing relations and provide hope for a better future for the entire region. (Dr. Riffat Hussain, 2005)

As the model was based on logical basis, it was accepted by both India and Pakistan, it was built on the experience. It guarded the financial interests of India and Pakistan. In addition, had greater chance of approval for its rational appeal. However, this model had some cons too. This model ignored the right of self-determination, it legitimized the status quo of Kashmir, which was a threat to Kashmiris, and human and cultural dimensions of Kashmiri people were ignored.

2.1.9 Kashmir Study Group (KSG) Proposal of Shared sovereignty

Kashmir study group proposal was based on Kashmiriyat. Farooq Kathwari, a prominent executive, set up a Kashmiri study group, which includes leading American researchers, experts and a retired ambassador, to find ideas for resolving the Kashmiri issue. The KSG has since held a wide range of discussions with leading figures from various civic centers and on a wide range of issues, including government, politics, military, diplomacy, science, journalism, business, and non-governmental experiences. In this connection, he travelled to India and Pakistan. Organizations. Following visits to India and Pakistan, KSG published its report in 1997. In September 1999, an expanded version of the report was published, entitled Kashmir: The Way Forward. Both reports argue that the best way to ensure progress in resolving the Kashmir dispute is to rebuild Jammu and Kashmir based on Kashmiri and Kashmiri cultural traditions. The scale of the re-established 19 Kashmir will reflect the aspirations of the residents of parts of the former state of Jammu and Kashmir. "The state's share in the restoration will be determined by

international control, through the aspirations of the Kashmiri people on both sides of the Line of Control." (Kashmir: A Way Forward, September 1999)

The implementation of KSG proposals would require the pursuit of following goals:

1. Free access to and from India and Pakistan to a reconstructed Kashmir. Along with that free movement for the people, goods and services. Subjected to multilateral arrangements.
2. Demilitarization of the region of Kashmir, within appropriate degree for Pakistan and India to maintain logistical support for powers outside the state that is then effective.
3. Pakistan and India would share "responsibility for the defense of the Kashmiri entity."
4. Kashmir "would itself maintain police and forces for internal law and order purposes. (Local Conflicts in the World: The Kashmir Conundrum Case- The KSG Proposal, 2003)

This proposal took into account the ground realities of the Kashmir situation and the national interest of India and Pakistan. It also promoted Kashmiriyat. This proposal had cons too as this ignored sovereignty for the Kashmiris. In addition, extremist Hindu parties in India opposed it.

2.1.10 The Lahore Declaration

The Lahore Declaration was a bilateral agreement and governance treaty between India and Pakistan. It was signed on 21 February 1999, at the historic summit in Lahore.

In response to an invitation from the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, Prime Minister of India Atal Bihari Vajpayee visited Pakistan on 20-21 February 1999 during the opening of the Delhi-Lahore bus service. The leaders of the two countries discussed the full range of bilateral relations, regional cooperation within the SAARC and issues of concern to the international community. The two prime ministers finally signed the Lahore Declaration, embodying a shared vision of peace and stability between their countries and the development and prosperity of their peoples. For more information, see the Lahore Declaration. Sharing the vision of peace and stability between our countries, as well as the development and prosperity of our people. We are convinced that a lasting peace and strengthening of bilateral relations and friendly cooperation will serve the interests of the peoples of both countries. Allowing them to channel their energies towards a better future.

Recognizing that the nuclear aspect of the security environment of the two countries enhances their responsibility for preventing conflict between the two countries. They adhere to the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations and the generally recognized principles of peaceful coexistence. Reaffirming the commitment of both countries to pursuing enlargement, they agreed on the importance of confidence-building measures to improve security conditions. In addition, recalling the agreement of September 23, 1998, that the atmosphere of

peace and security meets the highest national interests of both sides, and for this, it is necessary to resolve all outstanding issues, including Jammu and Kashmir. The Governments concerned agreed:

1. Step up efforts to address all issues, including the problem of Jammu and Kashmir.
2. Do not interfere and do not interfere in each other's internal affairs.
3. Consensus would strengthen the process of composer and coordinated dialogue for an early and positive outcome on the bilateral agenda.
4. Immediate action to reduce the risk of accidental or unauthorized use of nuclear weapons and to discuss concepts and ideas to refine the nuclear and conventional confidence-building measures aimed at conflict prevention. (Syed Riffat Hussain, 2009)

This model had called for a negotiated settlement through dialogue but it had no clear road map, and was opposed by right wing parties in Pakistan.

2.1.11 Andorra Model

In 1998, a Kashmiri American businessperson assembled a group of western policymakers and academics to set up the Kashmir Study Group. The group has published several possible resolutions, including a modern design in the style of Andorra, a small state bordering France and Spain. This is cooperation between India and Pakistan. It was an alternative to Azad Kashmir for Pakistan, although the Indian side also accepted it. This question is less well known, but it is very interesting and more important in the context of Kashmir.

It also included the reconstruction of parts of Jammu and Kashmir, such as an independent entity, such as Andorra, and free access to its two largest neighbors. The part of the state to be restored would be decided, based on an international agreement with the participation of the people of Kashmir, India and Pakistan. As a result, education will have its own secular democratic constitution. The best citizenship. The flag and a legislature that will legislate on all matters except defense and foreign affairs. The proposal relies on India and Pakistan to oversee the protection of the Kashmir entity and jointly develop financial support for it. The current Line of Control will not change, but all education will become a declining zone. The plan does not seek to avoid any particular issue that has given rise to the Kashmir dispute: the politics of selfishness and dignity associated with the region's claims. Any real solution to the Kashmir issue should be free from the assumption that it amounts to the defeat of one of the warring neighbors.

Andorra's proposal for no border movement has the potential to give at least both sides limited control over the entire Kashmir region and a sense of victory for both people. The sentiments of Kashmiris will also be greatly calmed. This is probably the only possible solution. (Kashmir Struggle for Freedom: Proposed Solutions, 2020)

This solution proposed an India-Pakistan joint control which satisfied both the parties, this was a positive aspect of this model but due to flawed analogy between Andorra and J&K plus an alternative on supreme autonomy it had negative aspects too.

2.1.12 The Irish Model

Former US President Clinton's statement in a keynote address on 2 March 2003 suggested an Irish model for Kashmir.

Kashmir issue could be resolved somewhat on the lines the matter in Northern Ireland was sorted out. For this, what have to be compelled to be pursued was school of thought, guaranteeing minority rights and a 'self-government' with shared value. Politicians from each side might want to stay the problem going. However, within the interest of the two countries, 'sacrifices ought to be created and risks taken. She said that she had hopes that India and Pakistan begin direct talks and keep making an attempt operating it out. Outsiders cannot resolve it. (Shaheen Akhtar, 2004)

The Irish peace process, that was supported the April 1998 Good Friday Agreement marked between the UK and also the Ireland Republic and eight other groups of European nation that might facilitate in calming down the situation in the region of Jammu and Kashmir. The main issue in Northern Ireland had been the forceful prevention of the desire of the Catholic nationalist minority living in six of its districts to seek for an association with the Republic of Ireland. The Protestant majority wants these regions to proceed as an element of the United Kingdom. (peacemaker.org, 1998)

The Good Friday Agreement advanced with the assistance of previous United States senator Robert Mitchell that offered the first conditional improvement on a long, tough expertise to a complete and durable harmony among the conflicting parties. It had been advised, that the Irish model provide noble learning in two different ways. At first, it offers a comparison of organized and continuing course

of arrangements strengthened by abundantly characterized instruments. Additionally, the second goal of the rivalry captivated with specific rules, which will have some convenience when making a decision the last settlement of the geographical region struggle. There are similarities between Irish model and therefore the Kashmir conflict incorporate the related: The similarities within the region are, the gap of the population; static surveys; the question of power; partial and biased practices followed by the state; and use of strict laws allowing utilization of power while not risk of penalization. (Irish Model and Kashmir Conflict: Search for a New Paradigm for Peace in South Asia, 2004)

This model includes third party mediation and importance of self-determination while it includes some defects as presumed institutionalized and organized dialogue, between the Kashmiri' people which are not present there along with India, and Pakistan. India considered this as an option while it was widely discussed in Pakistan.

2.1.13 Musharraf's 4 points formula and proposal for Demilitarization of Seven Zones

Musharraf's formula was supposed to be an out of box solution and followed the advice of "History teaches us that men and nations behave wisely once they exhaust all other alternatives."

There were, however, detractors e.g. According to Ambassador Yusuf Buch Musharraf's "Four-point Formula does not want to resolve the Kashmir dispute but to dissolve it."

Former Pakistan Foreign Minister Khurshid Mahmud Kasuri feels that this “solution to Kashmir was in the hands of both governments”. He reminded of the Agra meeting as the biggest opportunity in the relation of India and Pakistan. Pervez Musharraf however, suggested the dissection of Kashmir in seven regions along with four points. Two regions, Azad Kashmir and Gilgit Baltistan under Pakistani administration while the other five regions Kashmir valley, Ladakh, Kargil, Jammu region and Rajouri Poonch sector under Indian control. Along with that, he suggested demilitarization, self-governance, free movement along Line of control and a joint supervision mechanism. (Neither a Hawk nor a Dove, 2015)

In an interview with Prof Abdul Ghani Bhat former Chairman of the Hurriyat Conference in Kashmir Valley (2011), expressed his viewpoints on General Musharraf’s four-point formula and said that it can provide an actual and operative plan in the case of Kashmir:

- 1) Self-governance, a political notion not a political concern,
- 2) Military leaving the region making it free from any kind of military intervention.
- 3) Making borders relevant, accessible for people from both the side. Unconnected and irrelevant borders, which suggests free movement of people and trade between Pakistan, India, and both sides of the Kashmir’s.
- 4) Shared administration of Kashmir, which right now is not a joint control. Joint management meant that India, Pakistan, and the two Kashmir’s would include a group. That would manage mutual issues and areas of shared interests like water, trade, and tourism. Etc.

Consequently, Musharraf's four-point formula through cooperative and shared administration and self-governance, demilitarization of the irrelevant borders along with the free trade, will provide a case worthy of pursuit.

Musharraf formula was opposed by India. However, accepted by Pakistan but opposed by some of the religious groups in Pakistan as it liberates the status quo of Kashmir. Also, it had some cons too. It did not provide with a clear road map and ideas it had differences with Owen Dixon model.

2.1.14 Sumantra Bose's Proposal

Indian author Sumantra Bose has argued that the status quo is not possible. In addition, he suggested that territorial integrity should not be altered. He wrote "Ways exist of transcending the limitations imposed by those frontiers without abolishing them". He suggested self-rule on each respective sides of the governments by giving maximum authority to their side of Kashmir. However, the government should be responsible for foreign affairs, external defense, currency and macroeconomic policy for their own part of Kashmir. Human rights violation should be reduced. In addition, he suggested cross border economic and political development. In addition, changing LOC from iron to linen curtain. Moreover, he suggested a permanent intergovernmental council between India and Pakistan. In his opinion, this solution would integrate the people on both sides of Kashmir. (Kashmir: Roots of Conflict, Paths to Peace, 2005)

India supported this proposal, but it was opposed by Pakistan and Kashmir. It had positive aspects as it supported cross border economic and political cooperation that would integrate both sides of Kashmiri people.

2.2 Conclusion

All the models that have been discussed provides with different solutions, the first is the Owen Dixon model, by giving an opinion on regional plebiscite but unfortunately it was rejected by both the parties as it didn't allow for a third party option. The next considered model was Chenab formula, dividing the area on the lines of Chenab. This formula stated that the northern side area of the river Chenab would belong to Pakistan and the areas that are south of it would belong to India. Pakistan would get all of Kashmir valley and Ladakh and some regions of Jammu leaving India with less than 1/3rd of Jammu region. For obvious reasons India rejected this model, as it could not afford this. Furthermore, Selig Harrison proposed Trieste Model would provide free admittance to the other side of the border by giving an independent status to the area. Keeping communication, currency management, defense, and foreign affairs, to the aid of each India and Pakistan, leaving Kashmir impartial in all different subjects. However, this proposal was highly opposed by both sides of the governments. The next proposal Kashmir Study Group (KSG) Proposal on entity based on Kashmiri ideology, divided Kashmir into five different regions with free movement along the borders and multilateral agreement that India opposed largely. Additionally, Musharraf formula through combined supervision and self-governance, demilitarization and irrelevant borders. In addition, free trade provided a case worthy of pursuit as best suited for resolution of this issue; however, India disagreed to this model strongly.

Andorra Model is concerned with the reconstruction of Jammu and Kashmir region as a sovereign entity, within the same approach as European nation, with free access to and from each of its larger neighbors. The part of the state that was to be

reconstructed would be determined through an agreement, which would be internationally supervised involving the Kashmiris, Pakistan and India. This model was acceptable as an alternative to Independent Kashmir for India and agreeable for Pakistan too.

With external pressures from UN, EU, from super powers like US, China in form of sanctions for India along with some treaties, option for mediation and arbitration could help. In addition, in case of Pakistan, a mediator and arbitrator is required to bring in both the parties to the negotiating table

Since, Kashmir cannot stay independent; neither could it survive so a third option for an independent Kashmir is not an appropriate option. Allow free and fair movement along the borders, an idea by Musharraf, should be implemented. Along with an intervention by the international community and UN. In case of no obligation sanction by the international, community and UN should be imposed. Be it military or economically. The only way to resolve the issue is to demilitarize the area and allow plebiscite according to Musharraf formula and Owen Dixon plan. However, it is not possible as of now India has revoked the article 370 and 35A ending its special status and the only hope free and fair plebiscite. For that purpose, UN should intervene as a mediator and arbitrator. According to my opinion, considering the recent situation, the first and foremost thing that should be done is UN intervention in this issue; force them to negotiate to the parties of the conflict. A non-paper model will work, with involvement of a mediator to help resolve the issue. At the end, free and fair plebiscite to identify the views of Kashmiris could help solving it in a better way.

Chapter 3

Pressures involved in Kashmir conflict.

3.1 UN in Kashmir conflict resolution:

Conflict resolution can be done through mediation, arbitration, and mutual consultation by neutral bodies. This role is well suited to the spirit of the UNO. That was established in 1945, this organization is meant to provide confidence to weaker states for a peaceful world. The Preamble of UN Charter stated its objective in this manner, “to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained” The UN Charter intends to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character”.

Only two months into partition, India and Pakistan were at war over Kashmir. Both wanted control Kashmir but neither took into consideration the aspirations of the people. When Pakistani tribesmen intruded into Kashmir, the Maharaja of Kashmir sought India’s help. A rushed Instrument of Accession (IoA) gave India reason to send in forces into Kashmir. This also gave India the basis of taking the issue of Kashmir to the UN. As soon as India lodged complain with the UN, Pakistan responded by challenging the validity of the IoA. Pakistan maintains that the instrument of accession obtained through blatant coercion and therefore is a fraud and has no legal value.

On January 1, 1948, India lodged a complaint under Article 35 (Chapter VI) of the United Nations Charter, accusing Pakistan of aiding the tribal incursion into Kashmir. Pakistan denied the allegations, accusing India of annexing Kashmir and

destabilizing Pakistan from the outset. (UNSC Report, 2018). UN Security Council Resolution 4 of 21 April 1948 clearly states that Kashmiris have the right to decide their destiny and future through debate. The United Nations has played its part in stifling hostilities between India and Pakistan, but it has failed to bring peace and reconciliation. Initially, India was ready to listen to the views of the Kashmiri people, but over time, its position has hardened. On January 17, 1948, the first UN Security Council resolution on India and Pakistan called on both countries to take steps to improve the situation in Kashmir and refrain from any action that could worsen it. - The United Nations Commission on India and Pakistan (UNCIP) was set up on January 20, 1948 to investigate the Kashmir dispute between the two countries and to provide "mediating influence". UN Security Council Resolutions of August 47, 1947 and January 1949 called for a referendum instead of resolving the Kashmir dispute. The aim was to establish standards and a system free and fair voting under the auspices of the United Nations. Both India and Pakistan supported these objectives, but later opposed changing the various statements, which were primarily concerned with the disarmament of Jammu and Kashmir. (MOFA)

UN Charter Article 33 aims to accomplish international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character. It was founded based on Liberal School of thought and rejected so called power politics and the perceptions associated to the realism of the inevitable occurrence of conflict and war. Since 1945, UN main role was to encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without any discrepancy based on race, sex, language, or religion. The most important concern of UN was to provide a forum where the disagreeing states can resolve their disputes in a non-hostile and democratic manner. The prime responsibility rests with the United Nations Security

Council and with its P5 members to maintain the international peace and security, establishing friendly relations between countries, seeking international cooperation in resolving international issues and coordinating the efforts of the United Nations in achieving these common goals. (Beenesh, 2019).

Kashmir is a complex issue that could not be resolved, merely by UN's efforts but required the willingness, compromise and cooperation of all parties. The language of the UNSCRs could have been more assertive. The ambiguity in resolution's language also weakened its implementation in a way that India or Pakistan did not feel compelled to oblige. The resolutions felt more like political concessions than legal obligations. Sadly, the aspirations of the Kashmiri people were never taken into account (St. Leonard's, Australia: Allen & Unwin, 1994).

In July 1948, UNCIP (United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan) arrived in the subcontinent and, after discussion, proposed a treaty between India and Pakistan and an immediate ceasefire. They demanded the return of fellow tribesmen, civilians and Indian troops. The proposal was rejected by India, saying it was inconclusive, and since then Pakistan has been accused of aggression in Kashmir. Since the interim administration of the valley and the territories under Indian control was transferred to Sheikh Abdullah, Pakistan rejected the plan. In March 1948, when Sheikh Abdullah became Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, Pakistan considered him an ally of India, and this could influence the pro-Indian referendum. On August 14, 1948, UNCIP submitted a proposal to the Governments of India and Pakistan, in which Pakistan recognized its military presence in Jammu and Kashmir. Jammu and Kashmir State is a significant change in this situation, as the Pakistani government represented it before the Security Council was represented. The Pakistani government has agreed to withdraw its troops from the state. The

Pakistani government made every effort to ensure the evacuation of Jammu and Kashmir State, and then invited the local authorities, under the supervision of the Commission, to manage the area to be liberated by the Pakistani army. The Will Commission was deemed necessary to assist local authorities in maintaining law and order. However, India's position remained firm on the need to maintain its sovereignty over all of Kashmir, including Kashmir ruled by Pakistan. The resolution proposes a two-part plan that calls for mitigation and residency. He demanded that Pakistan ensure the return of all tribesmen and soldiers, as well as most of the Indian army. India has rejected the call for a ceasefire. India considered this proposal unfounded and refused to cooperate in its implementation.

In July 1948, the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) reached the subcontinent and after deliberations produced a proposal, which called for truce agreement between India and Pakistan and an immediate ceasefire, withdrawal of Pakistani tribal, and nationals and Indian troops. This proposal was rejected by India by saying that it did not opportune and after that, blamed Pakistan as an aggressor in Kashmir. On March 1948, as the interim administration of valley and the territories fell under Indian control, Sheikh Abdullah was made the prime minister of the State Pakistan rejected this plan. Pakistan considered Abdullah to be an Indian ally and could influence the plebiscite in India's favour.

On August 14, 1948, the UNCIP submitted a proposal to the Governments of India and Pakistan confirming Pakistan's presence in Jammu and Kashmir. In fact, the presence of Pakistani troops in the state of Jammu and Kashmir represents a significant change in the situation, as the Pakistani government in the Security Council represented it. The Pakistani government has agreed to withdraw its troops

from the state. He further suggested that local authorities, under the supervision of the commission, would manage the area vacated by Pakistani forces. The commission was deemed necessary to assist local authorities in enforcing law and order. However, India's position on the need to maintain its sovereignty over the whole of Kashmir, including occupied Kashmir near Pakistan, has not changed. The resolution proposed two parts. He called on Pakistan to ensure the return of all Indian troops besides all tribal members and soldiers. India rejected the ceasefire proposal. India considered the proposal baseless and refused to co-operate in its implementation (UN Report, 2018)

In 1957, UNSCR 122 expressed frustration over the futility of previous resolutions. UN maintained that fair elections in the territory were the only way forward and took a backseat. Since 1957, the UN largely stayed away from the issue, and has not appointed another representative of the UNCIP and restricted its role to brokering ceasefire between India and Pakistan during times of war. UNCIP was dissolved on March 14, 1950. The space created by the UN was eventually filled by the US and other powers that started taking more proactive role in the region's politics than the UN. Pakistan and India went on to governing their parts of Kashmir. (UN reports, 2018)

After the India Pakistan War of 1965, the engagement with Kashmir continued at a very insignificant level, until the war of 1971. After the war, the two countries signed the Shimla agreement signing in 1972, which gave a bilateral framework to Kashmir issue. Pakistan insists that it has not superseded the UNSCRs on Kashmir and that plebiscite is still the only legal option. UNSCR 4, 21 April 1948 clearly stipulates that Kashmiris have the right to decide their own destiny through

a plebiscite that can only be organized if India and Pakistan can allow it to be held. (Ganguly, 2003).

During its engagement on Kashmir, the UN passed numerous resolutions that were aimed, at mediation and the resolution of the conflict. The UN Security Council passed 23 resolutions on Kashmir between 1948 and 1971. The UNSCRs could not be enforced because the two main parties to the dispute did not consent to their application. (Ahmad Wani, Suwirta & Fayeye, 2013)

In 2016, a new wave of unrest erupted after the death of Burhan Wani, a young and popular local rebel commander of the Indian security forces. The move spurred the first major UN initiative on Kashmir in decades, when the UN Human Rights Commission (UN Human Rights Commission) published a report by the Indian Army to quell the riots. Numerous human rights violations identified (OHCHR 2018).

In recent years, Kashmir has again attracted the attention of UN, even though because of the human right issues in place of carrying out any effort to uphold the principle of self-determination. Since 1989, a medium-intensity insurgency has raged in Indian Administered Kashmir, brought about in huge component through goals for extra self-determination and Kashmiri frustration over India's erosion of neighborhood autonomy. Although the Kashmir insurgency changed into firstly driven via secessionist sentiments, Islamist insurgents numerous of whom have been supported by way of Pakistan quick hijacked it. India's response has been draconian handiest serving to alienate plenty of the Kashmiri population (Mohan et al, 2019).

On 5 August 2019, the quasi-independent status of Kashmir was finished, when the government of India revoked the article 35a and 370 and made Kashmir

and Ladakh union territories. Practically India demolished the pretence of ever holding the plebiscite. (BBC, 2019). The UN has yet to take a position on this violation of UNSCRs.

Pakistan discussed the issue with the UN Security Council. Pakistan's ally China, for the first time in decades, convened an emergency closed-door meeting of the Security Council on August 16, 2019, when a UN body focused directly on the Kashmir issue. In the end, however, the council took no action, and instead urged both sides to "refrain from any unilateral action that could worsen the situation." UN Secretary-General Antonio Gutiérrez also issued a statement in which he called for "maximum sanctions" and reiterated the UN's position that "the status of Jammu and Kashmir should be solved in a peaceful way in accordance with the UN Charter. (UN News 2019).

3.2 Role of China

China has a significant and noteworthy ability resolve different disputes i.e. dispute with North Korea and many more. Having unresolved border issues with India made china a party to Kashmir conflict. India claims the Chinese occupation in the Aksai Chin portion of Kashmir. In the month of June this year, Chinese and Indian soldiers fought with each other at Galvan valley of the disputed region. China claims that portion of territory along the Line of Actual Control (LAC). At least 20 Indian soldiers were killed, and score of others injured in hand-to-hand combat. It was deadliest encounter between China and India after 1962 war, between two most populous countries of the world.

China has usually been supportive on Pakistan's stance on Kashmir. If both the parties to the conflict agree, China would play a constructive role in in defusing

tensions between India and Pakistan. The Chinese government refers the condition in Kashmir as “unacceptable” and defends “its legitimate rights and hobbies” within the Kashmir region. (Syed Qamar Afzal Rizvi, 2019)

From last seventy years, China policy towards Kashmir had been varying, depending totally upon its self-interest. Preserving poise between its relationship with both south Asian rivals, Pakistan and India, China’ has always maintained its self-interest. There is an option that was never tried earlier, and that is China peace initiative, which would help in resolving the border dispute between India and Pakistan. Subsequently, the most recent incident in Ladakh, India had become mindful of its customary strategy of oppression of weaker states but this could not happen in case of Chinese involvement. China being at the focus would not let India involve in any blunder in case of occupied territories of Jammu and Kashmir. (Naeem Sarfraz, 2020)

Since the recent skirmish, with Pakistan and other with china, India aggressive moves and malign intentions were clear. India even requests China not to highlight the Kashmir Clash at the UNSC meeting. When china backed Pakistan in Kashmir, case India was not happy with that. China along with Malaysia, turkey supported the Kashmir cause. In addition, wanted a peaceful resolution for this lethal issue.

3.3 European Union (EU) Role

The EU has tried to resolve the growing tensions between India and Pakistan over the long running Kashmir conflict. The EU stresses that India, Pakistan and China are important partners. The first has the status of a strategic partnership. It is believed that a solution to the ongoing dispute with the local organizing committee

can be achieved jointly through constant interaction between the governments of India and Pakistan and the peoples of all parts of Jammu and Kashmir. Can only be achieved by adding. However, based on successful experience in conflict resolution in a multinational, multinational, multinational context, the EU may have some suggestions. Thus, it proposed the current resolution and any meeting that arises as part of a shared experience from which the EU can also learn lessons and reaffirm the importance of continued EU support to both India and Pakistan. When they carry out the 2004 peace process. Under an agreement between Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf and Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh to continue negotiations on all contentious issues, including Kashmir, to ease tensions in South Asia. (Martin Banks, 2017).

3.4 Kashmiri Diaspora in Kashmir Conflict Resolution

Kashmiri diaspora, which is also found in the United States, Canada, and Australia. Leading Kashmiri organizations with this goal include the Awami Jammu and Kashmir National Party and the Kashmiri United National Party. Although the residence of the Kashmiris was already in operation, the repeal of Article 370 of the Indian Constitution in August 2019 gave them new impetus. Outside the UN headquarters in New York and outside the UN office in Geneva, Kashmiris have moved to different platforms. More recently, Republic Day celebrations have been overshadowed by protests in various cities in the US, UK and Canada.

Kashmiris and Pakistanis living in the UK have formed the British political establishment. In the 2019 UK General Election, 15 Pakistanis and Kashmiris were elected to the British Parliament. The incident was a victory for Kashmir and the people of Pakistan, as their representatives supported the cause of Kashmir in the

British political apparatus. Following the repeal of Article 370, mainstream media and social media have become key platforms that can reach Kashmiris with a global audience. Citing isolation in the Indian-controlled valley, international and regional media have turned to Kashmiri residences to state first-hand the isolation of Kashmiris. Various social media sites such as Twitter and Instagram have also been used, to expose Indian atrocities in the region. After August 5, 2019, social media movements such as Red Dot Movement, Red for Kashmir, and Blood for Kashmir gained momentum and became social media trending.

The Kashmiri diaspora calculated on soft measures to resolve the Kashmir problem. The Kashmir question has played a key role in mobilizing the Kashmiri residing in a global interpretation. This issue, as before, is resolved at the international level, which, in addition to the diplomatic efforts of Pakistan, is attributed, to the Kashmiri diaspora. However, the number of Kashmiris needs to be increased even further in order to come to any final decision. There is a need to develop coordination mechanisms between Kashmiri leadership abroad and Kashmiri leadership in isolation so that the diaspora can be actively mobilized. It is important to make the most of social media as a media outlet. This will not only raise awareness of the Kashmir issue, but also provide greater coverage in the mainstream international media. The Kashmiri diaspora can create think tanks, research centers and advocacy centers to achieve this goal. Kashmiri students should express their opinions through think tanks and the media. The active cooperation of Kashmiri residences will show the interest of media giants, human rights groups and public activists, who, in turn, can play a key role in raising this issue. (Maryam Rasheed, 2020).

3.5 Role of US

After World War II, the dispute of Kashmir was one of the most important factors in determining the balance of power in South Asian region. Multiple regional interests in South Asia shape the US view of Kashmir. Changing circumstances have given rise to new views of the United States that often differ from one another. US policy in Kashmir since the division of the Indian subcontinent in a short span of past decades changed influencing American perception and lead to a shift in ideologies. (P. S. Palit, 2008)

Since 1947, India and Pakistan have fought three wars against each other, the first being in Kashmir. In recent years, the two countries have been embroiled in four military crises in which the United States has played an increasingly effective role. This important component was to avoid any other war in South Asia by the US administration until then. However, Kashmir's mood and internal situation have destabilized it for many years. Since 9/11, the United States has maintained close ties with both countries. Washington must move beyond resolving the crisis and help pave the way for peace in the region. Basically, because both India and Pakistan are nuclear states. The United States was interested in resolving the Kashmir issue even before the 1998 nuclear tests. However, he was never willing to take the risk or make the necessary political investment. (N.C. Behera, 2002)

Talking about the recent trump administration with America First policy, president trump have offered facilitation for Kashmir. The United States presented to be a mediator on the Kashmir issue, with President Trump agreeing to help India and Pakistan if mediation took place. Ahead of a bilateral meeting between Trump and Prime Minister Modi in France, a White House official said US President

Donald Trump was ready to help India and Pakistan on the Kashmir issue if both sides demanded it. US President Donald Trump met with Pakistani Prime Minister Imran Khan on the sidelines of the annual session of the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) in New York City and offered to mediate between India and Pakistan to resolve the tension. Reiterating that the two countries have been working on Kashmir for a long time, the US President said that he had good relations with Prime Minister Imran Khan and while announcing that he and Modi had "almost talked enough about Pakistan too. (Aljazeera, 2019)

3.6 Islamic Countries involved in Kashmir conflict resolution.

Turkey is not the direct party involved in Kashmir conflict yet their concerns for the Kashmiri Muslims and south Asian stability are sincere. Turkish PM Erdogan in his speech said that instead of using any coercive measures use dialogue as a tool for resolving the Kashmir issue. Talking at the UNGA, he highlighted the importance of South Asian stability deeply linked with the stability of Kashmir. Terming abrogation of autonomous status of IOK as a heinous crime against humanity. (Economic times, 2019)

Kashmir issue is as important to Turkey as it is to Pakistan, President Erdogan said in his speech on 14 February 2020, mentioning the Pakistani efforts during Turkish war of Independence. Turkey is in favor of resolving the Kashmir issue by taking into consideration the expectations of the Kashmiri people, and through dialogue based on UN resolutions. (Daily Sabah, 2020)

Turkish PM on August 6 2020; again offered Pakistan fresh support in Kashmir case and said that turkey would back Kashmir stance along with all the other brother states. In addition, would highlight the issue internationally exposing

Hindutva extremist ideology of BJP government on which New Delhi on August 7, 2020 falsified Turkish claims by calling them biased and factually incorrect and warned not to interfere in the matter of Kashmir case. (Economic times, 2020) Pakistan on August 28 2020, praised the efforts made by turkey to highlight and talk about the issue of Kashmir internationally.

Undoubtedly, the clever decision of the Indian government to repeal Article 370 of the Indian Constitution, ignoring the Kashmir special legal sovereignty for more than 70 years, puts Tehran at a difficult place but Iran was the first state to protest of Modi's announcement with firmness, besides Iran being a close ally of India. Maintaining its morals and Islamic principles. Holding closer links with New Delhi is as important as supporting Kashmir stance for the Islamic Republic, especially that when China is the second largest oil market after Iran. However, Tehran's protested the abolishment of Article 370 not bothering its relations with India, the dilemma of Kashmiris was most important for the leadership of the Islamic Republic. Since then, Iran officials in Tehran have been paying close attention to Kashmir, supporting the Kashmiris' struggle with sensitivity. Unlike the Persian Gulf's Arabs, which have been supporting India instead of Kashmir. (Giorgio Cafiero, 2019)

Along with that, Malaysian PM Mahathir Muhammad and Foreign Minister Yi demands for a peaceful resolution of Kashmir dispute. Malaysia along with China and turkey backed Pakistan in UNGA 74th session on 27 September 2019 for the case of Kashmir. (Express tribune, 2019)

3.7 Role of Pakistan in putting pressure in the resolution of Kashmir issue:

China, Pakistan and India - three influential players surrounds the Kashmir. Kashmir is important to Pakistan for two reasons. First, it has economic significance, and second, it has ideological significance. The two countries have different views on this issue. For Pakistan, it is a question of Kashmiris' right to self-determination and their rights. For him, this is not a solution to the partition of United India in 1947. In the UN Security Council, Pakistan has always rejected India's position on Kashmir. Pakistan believes that there is a temporary agreement to ensure and control the foreign affairs of the State of Kashmir, to ensure their security and communication in every aspect. At the same time, India's accession to Kashmir is nothing but a fraud and cannot be acknowledged by us.

The Prime Minister, speaking recently at the UN General Assembly, best demonstrated the underlying causes of the Kashmiri people and the importance of the Indian initiative for peace and security in the region. He also sought to raise the profile of the international community. In addition, he tried to intervene to prevent a humanitarian crisis. No one in his or her mind can be exempted from the statement the prime minister is trying to make. Nevertheless, the dilemma is that, in a rotating global environment, conscience does not play a role in resolving inhuman problems and conflicts that claim thousands of lives. Those genuinely concerned with resolving conflicts and respecting human rights see these things at the core of their strategic and commercial interests and, as a result, recognize international law and international human rights. Do Used as a choice. If this were not so, the issues of Palestine and Kashmir would have already been resolved. In the current situation, even Pakistani nuclear deterrent cannot stop India from exterminating the people of Kashmir. This only happens when godly Pakistan is directly attacked and its

territorial integrity is threatened. However, no rational mind would believe that India would go for the option of mutual destruction through nuclear war, which could have devastating consequences in our region and around the world. I think that those in power who are currently accusing the Modi government of atrocities in Indian-occupied Kashmir are well aware of the consequences of such incidents and will not allow them to happen.

That is obvious that the long and protracted struggle for the Kashmiri people will be ended, if the international community and the United Nations ever feel their responsibility to resolve the Kashmir issue in accordance with the UN resolution. May be. In fact, it would depend on whether the Kashmiri people were able to continue the struggle for independence with the same ruthlessness and determination in the worst of circumstances. Pakistan, for which Kashmir has an incomplete agenda of partition, will continue to provide moral, political and diplomatic support to the IOC in its struggle for independence, until it succeeds. (Malik Mohammad Ashraf, 2019).

Kashmir is the jugular vein of Pakistan. This means that the return of the part of the region that is now under Indian rule is the key to Pakistan's survival. This goal became more difficult in August 2019, when India toppled Kashmir's semi-autonomous status. The move took Pakistan by surprise, its military looked weak, and its purpose to the free Kashmir area looked far away. So far, Pakistan has been diplomatic, but it has not responded to the military. Looking ahead, it is likely that Pakistan will continue to support anti-India terrorist groups, which could create a new crisis. It had also launch a limited military strike on targets in India. There may be a reaction to this mismanagement, as Pakistan threatens to isolate itself internationally, as it did 20 years ago during the Kargil war. The military operation

will also give India an excuse to retaliate with force, as happened in February 2019 after the Pakistan-linked terrorist attack in Kashmir. (Nishank Motwani, 2020).

Pakistan should act diplomatically in response to all the events in India and should try to use Modi's signs to stabilize the New Delhi's actions, not military intervention as that would isolate Pakistan and isolate Pakistan. However, if the situation in Kashmir deteriorates and the result Hindu policies could tarnish India's image, conditions will be created for military intervention. In addition, some good could happen in Kashmir case.

Conclusion

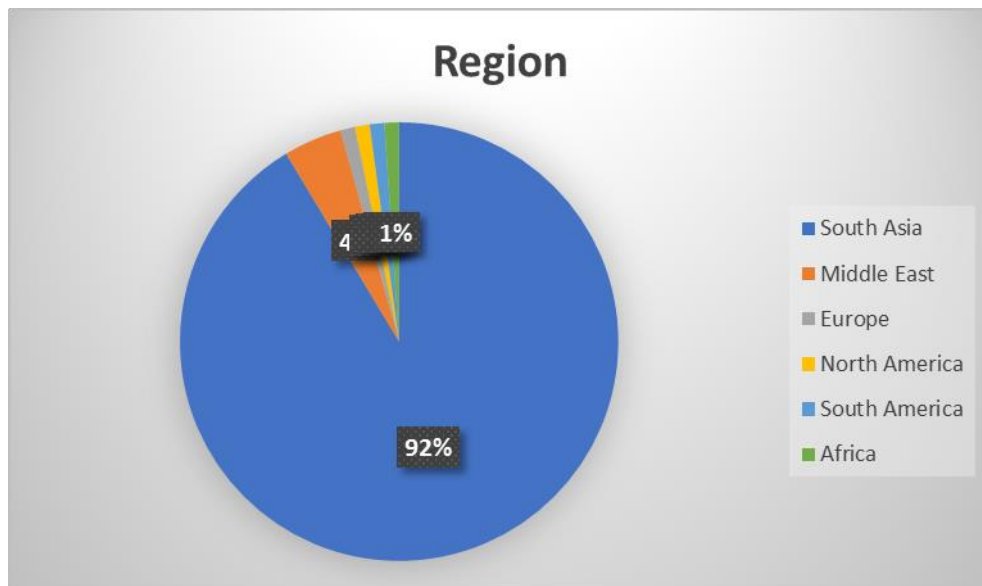
Pakistan, India the two rival neighbors are under serious threats from each other because of the Kashmir region. They are at loggerheads with each other since the inception. UN at first tried to solve the issue but it was of use. India was never happy with international involvement in Kashmir case thus termed it a bilateral one. However, due to some of the recent incidents international community along with china and some Muslim countries got involved and supported Pakistan's stance on Kashmir issue. Kashmir awaits peaceful solution with the help of internal and external pressures on India for Kashmir

Chapter 4

Analysis

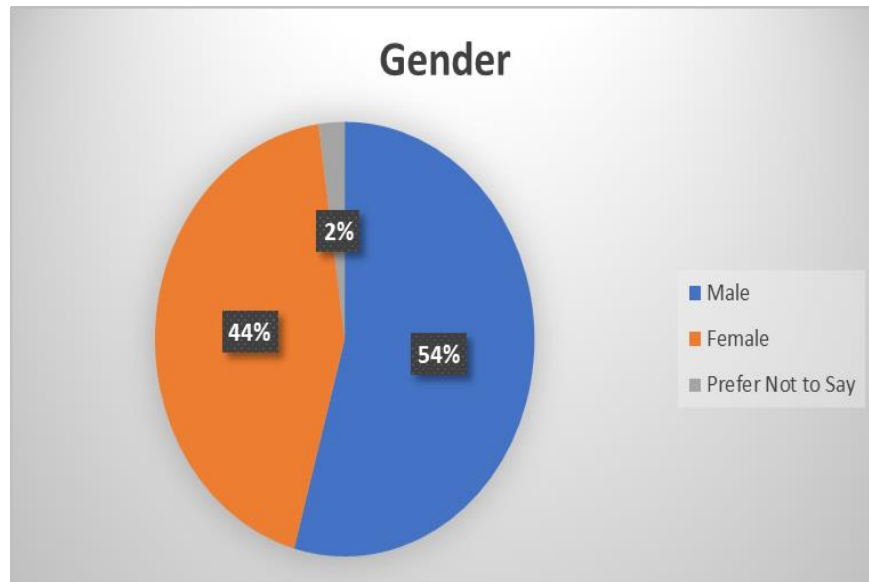
276 people responded to this survey. That included males, females, people from all the professions and area of expertise.

Regional Affiliation



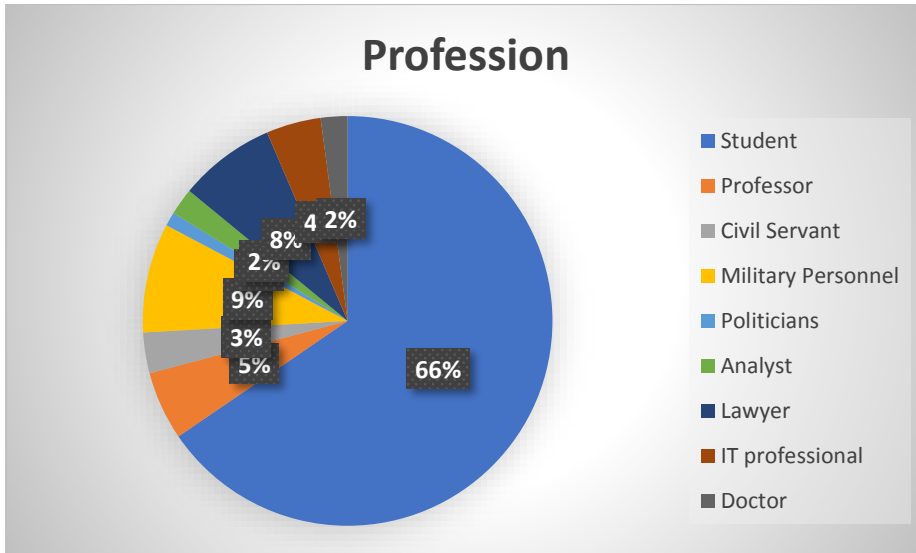
276 people responded the question that was asked about regional affiliation of the respondents, most of the respondents were from Asian continent. A little percentage belonged to Africa. Europe, America and Middle East too. This shows high ratio of involvement of the Asian people responding the survey carried on the case study of Kashmir in paradigm of pressures involved in resolving the conflict.

Gender



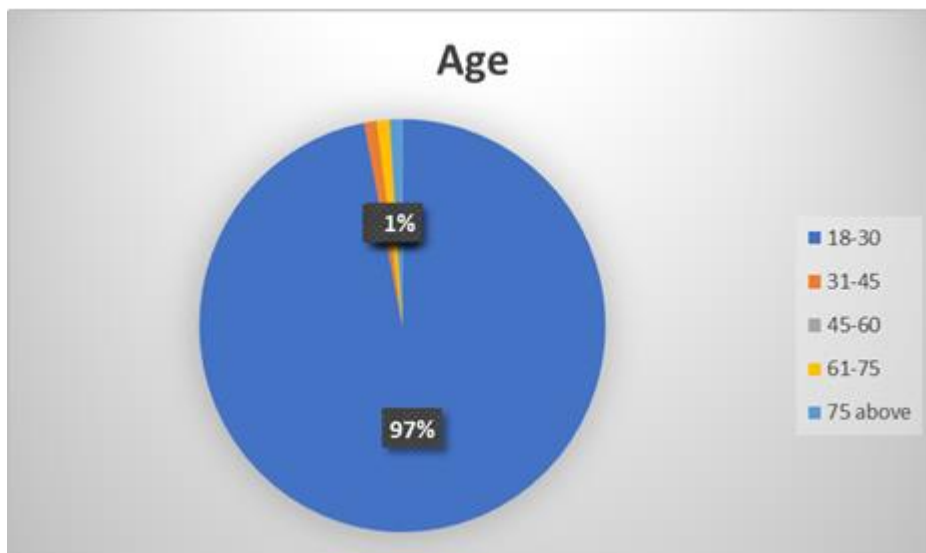
Both the genders participated equally in this survey, be it male or female. Large number of males answered this survey. In addition, some people preferred not to mention their gender.

Profession



People from all the professions took part in survey, and the largest number among them was of students that was 66 percent, subsequently people from military background also responded to the survey, besides them doctors, lawyers, analyst, politicians, analyst, civil servants and professors equally took part in this survey.

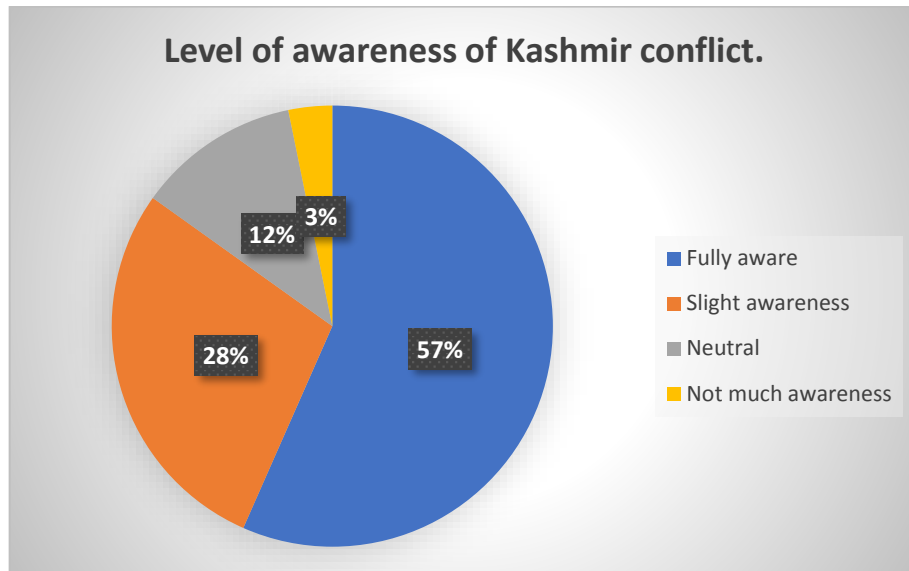
Age



Refereeing to the question asked on the age group, people from different age bracket responded to this survey. Most of them were in the age bracket of 18-30

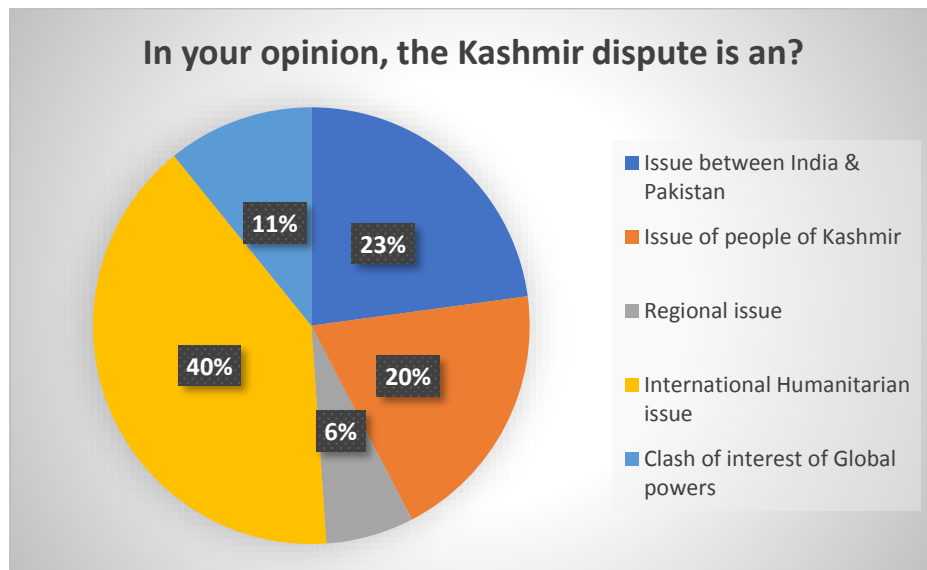
years. This chart shows the involvement of young generation more than the elder ones.

Level of awareness of Kashmir conflict.



How well is one aware of the 73 years old rivalry between the two neighboring states? The level of awareness on the core issue of Kashmir answered by the respondents revealed that the majority of people were fully aware of the conflict. Twenty-eight percent people were having a slight knowledge about the issue while some stayed neutral and a very few were not having much awareness about the issue. There was a positive impact from this graph as a higher ratio of people were fully aware of the issue. Very low ratio was observed which had slight idea about that.

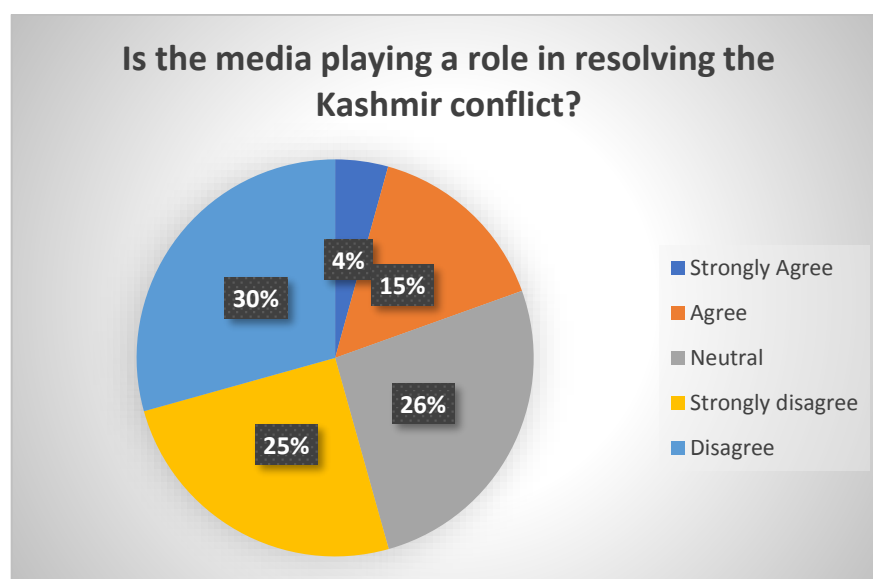
Kashmir dispute is.



What Kashmir issue is? Is it a regional dispute, territorial, or something else? How can one categorize this conflict? Kashmir conflict is a territorial issue, primarily between the two rival neighbors Pakistan and India, where China is playing the role of a mediator and a third party. It is a clash over the region that triggered three deadly wars between India and Islamic Republic of Pakistan with many other armed encounters. Which now has turned into a nuclear trigger since February 14 pulwana attack. BJP making conditions worse than ever by imposing a curfew with revoking the special status of Kashmir. Asking about the opinion on what Kashmir issue is majority of respondents think it as a humanitarian crisis, if it is humanitarian crisis why is international community quite on the human rights violations taking place in Kashmir. While 23%, think as an issue between India and Pakistan. 20% termed it as a Kashmiri people issue while 11% think as clash of global interest and only 6% consider it as a regional issue. Analysing all the data collected and from previous chapters on what Kashmir conflict is, in my opinion

Kashmir is an international issue that could only be solve through international mediation, arbitration. However, India terms it as a bilateral one but it is the issue on right of self-determination. India is suppressing the freedom of speech and performing heinous atrocities to subjugate the Kashmiri struggle.

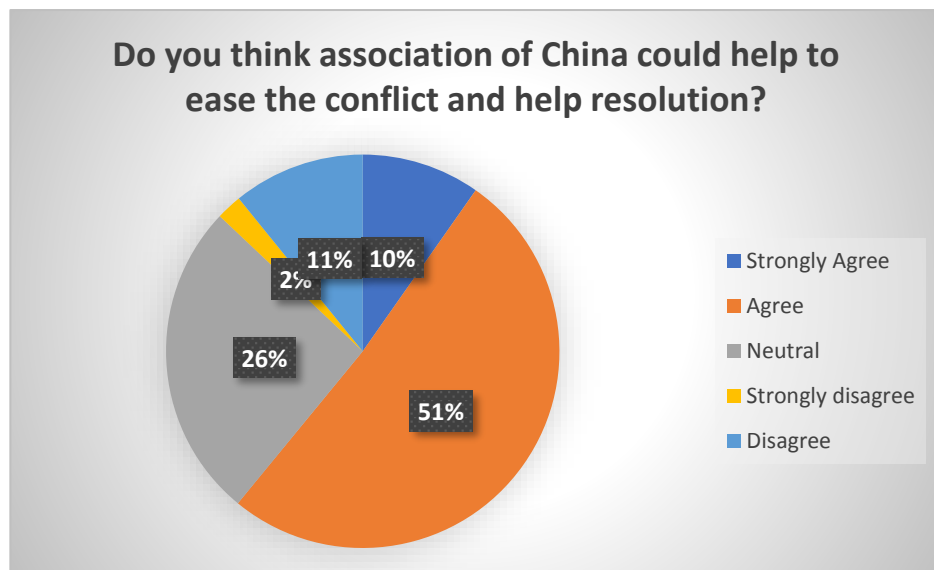
Media role in resolving the Kashmir conflict



Media being the most powerful tool in contemporary era could turn the situation easily. The role media played in any conflict resolution or awareness is very imperative, so is the case of Kashmir. Shamim Shawl a Hurriyat Leader said that Indian media was doing whatever Indian government wanted it to do. India was concealing the facts and prevailing situation in Held Valley from its own people. India media seemed to promote the stance of Indian government more. A survey conducted on media role in Kashmir conflict showed that majority i.e. 30% people disagreed while 25% people strongly disagreed about media role in resolving the conflict. 26% people remained neutral in their opinion while only 15% agreed to a fact that media is playing a role that could be helpful in resolving the conflict and

very less percent strongly agreed. In my opinion media on both sides is not playing enough role that could be helpful in resolution of the conflict. It is controlled and biased. A report by MOFA clearly described that India before revoking the special status of Kashmir put a stop on media and internet connections were shutdown. Journalists and leaders were put under home arrest and some were transferred to unknown places. With this attitude, media could not play a part when they too are under serious obligations and threats.

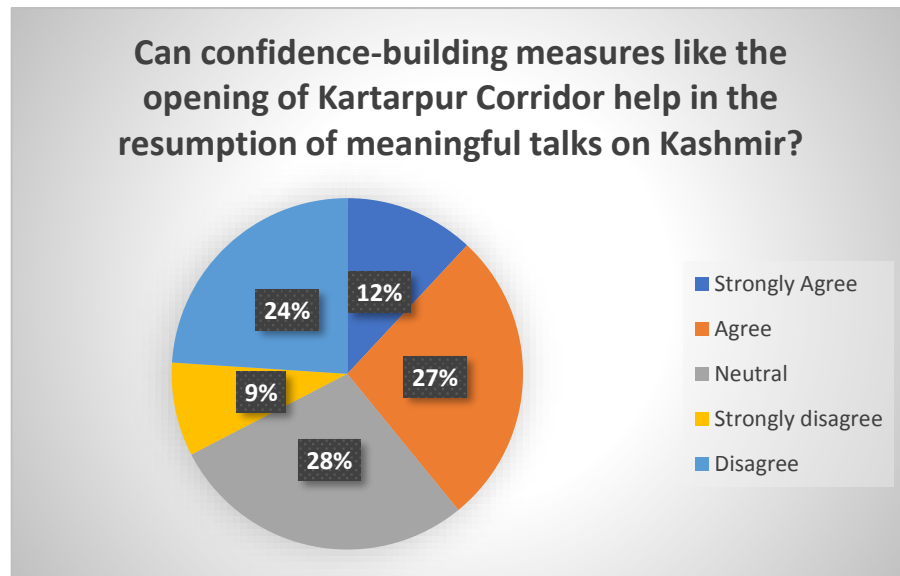
Do you think association of China could help to ease the conflict and help resolution?



Kashmir always has been under terror due to persistent humanity crisis in the region. Kashmir, being the disputed region between India and Pakistan is divided among three states, India, China and Pakistan. Gradually, different policies by China are adopted. Chinas interest in both the regions be it IOK or Azad Kashmir region is evident. The interest are definitely related to get the superiority militarily, economically in the Asia pacific region to subside US hegemony. India besides US

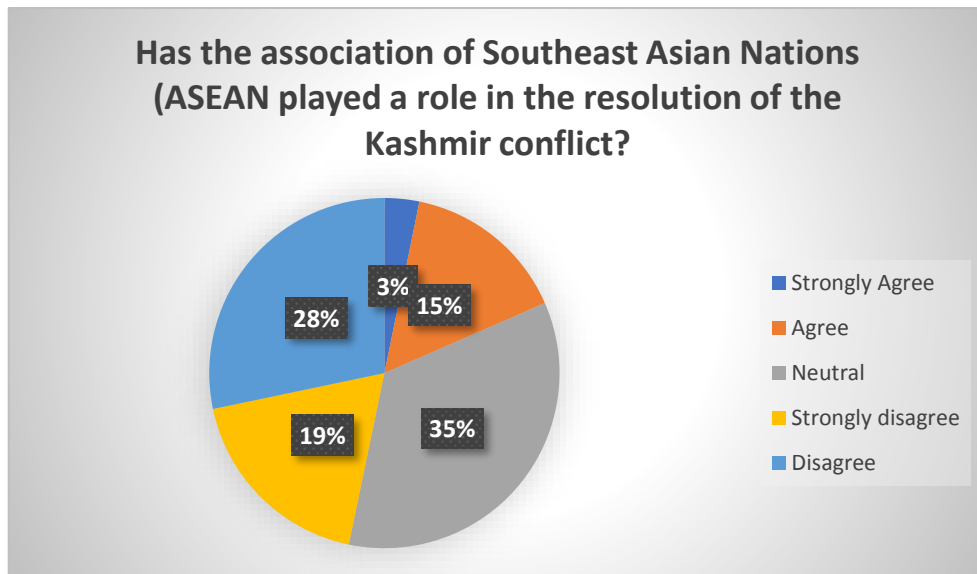
is the second big rival in Asia Pacific region and with the aim of countering India; China is supporting Pakistan. China and Pakistan both neighbors sustain resilient and solid partnership in all the conditions and scenarios. Pakistan got the Chinese support militarily during the entire skirmishes between India and Pakistan. China suggested opting for some sort of peaceful resolution for Kashmir by both South Asian Nations. Chinese stance has been neutral since Pakistan recognized China but after CPEC, Chinese have their own interest, with an investment of fifty-seven billion dollars (€51 billion) in GB with some energy and infrastructure projects, which are more than in any of the other South Asian countries. Moreover, their association along with other communist countries could help bring some good to the Kashmir conflict. Answering the survey, fifty-one percent of people strongly disagreed with the statement that association of China could help to ease the conflict and help resolution, while 26% remained neutral, 11% strongly disagreed while 10% strongly agreed and 2% strongly disagreed. This shows that a majority of people think Chinese association is not helpful in resolving this conflict. Had it been otherwise, it would have done so earlier. They are just here to meet their national interest, nothing more. People are not hopeful about the Chinese role and efforts on this regard.

Can the opening of Kartarpur Corridor like, CBMS will help in the resumption of meaningful talks on Kashmir?



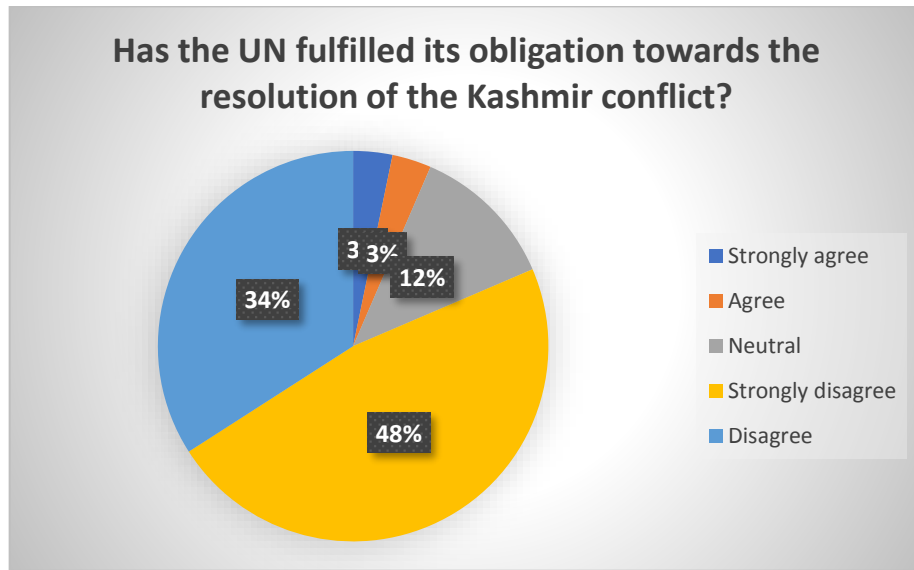
With the opening of Kartarpur Corridor like CBMs, there would be help in the resumption of meaningful talks on Kashmir, as Kartarpur is first of its type of efforts been done to bring peace in the region, after 14th of February pulwana attack within India. For which Pakistan was accused. Responding to this, majority agrees to this with 39% voting in favor. While 28% remained neutral and on total 33% disagreed. I believe that with current government in power full of extremist no meaningful talks could be resumed. Hindutva nationalist are with extreme mind-set would never allow any peace to prevail with their heinous mind-sets. This step was taken towards peace however, in response India was not that helpful neither cooperating.

Has the association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) played a role in the resolution of the Kashmir conflict?



The ASEAN is a regional organization, which helps in bringing together incongruent neighbors to discuss and solve security, political and economic issues, and then the impact of the group remains restricted. Majority of the people responding to this survey disagreed to this fact the association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) had played a role in the resolution of the Kashmir conflict. Only 6% in total agreed on their role being helpful in resolving this conflict. I believe only ASEAN could not play a helpful role until and unless complete international community and other organizations like UN, EU etc. are involved in the peace process.

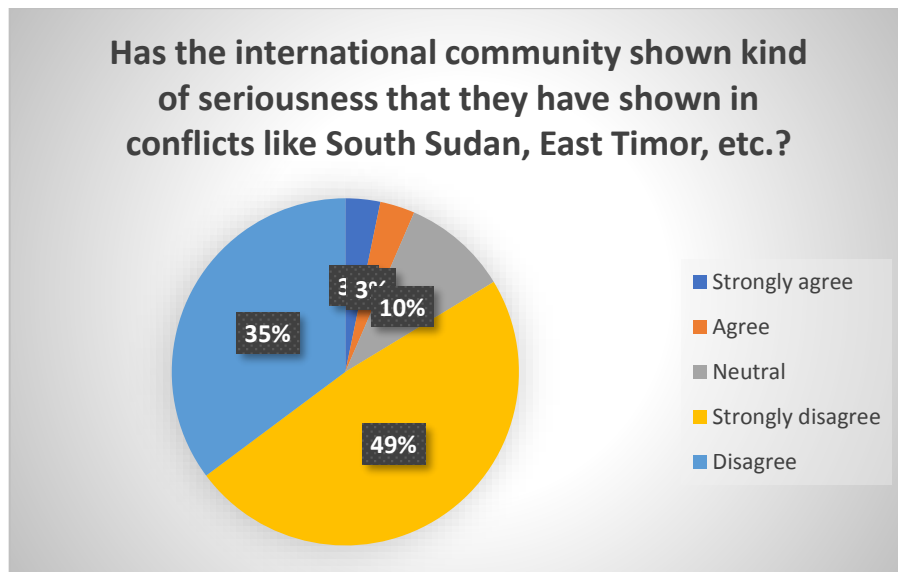
UN obligation towards the resolution of the Kashmir conflict.



In international arena, resolving conflict remained one of the most important and key goal of the UN, since the inception of the UN charter the main goal of UN was the protection of generations and states from the impacts of wars. The UN has devoted itself to discontinue the conflict and to nib, the evil in the bud by removing the root cause of conflicts in international arena. In addition, effectively dealing with the member states and public as well. Along with that, by implementing the comprehensive policies that could foresee the important causes of conflict in international politics. While answering the survey form, majority of the people i.e. 81% believe that UN failed to fulfil its obligation towards the resolution of the Kashmir conflict. Only 6% in total agreed to the fact that UN remained there to fulfil its obligations towards resolving the conflict. While 12 % remained neutral. Keeping in view the current situation and past scenario that UN had remained biased towards this issue. This issue was not given importance neither even as a humanitarian issue nor as the territorial dispute. For more than 7 decades, this issue has not been resolved due to interference of the parties of the interest in this conflict. A report on

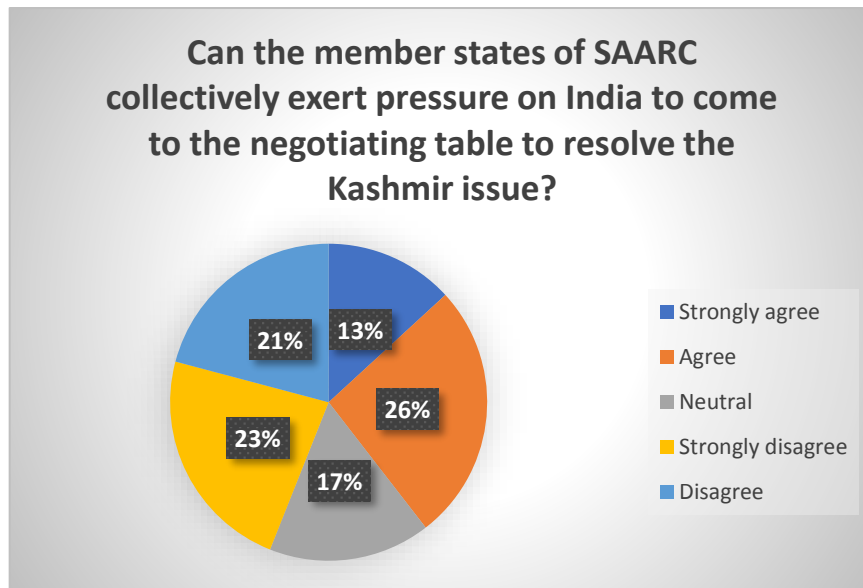
UN stated that UN has failed in its main and foremost responsibilities of maintaining peace and security undoubtedly and in tackling violations of human rights in IOK, despite the case being in the custody of UN, Kashmir solution and peace are not viable.

Has the international community shown kind of seriousness that they have shown in conflicts like South Sudan, East Timor, etc.?



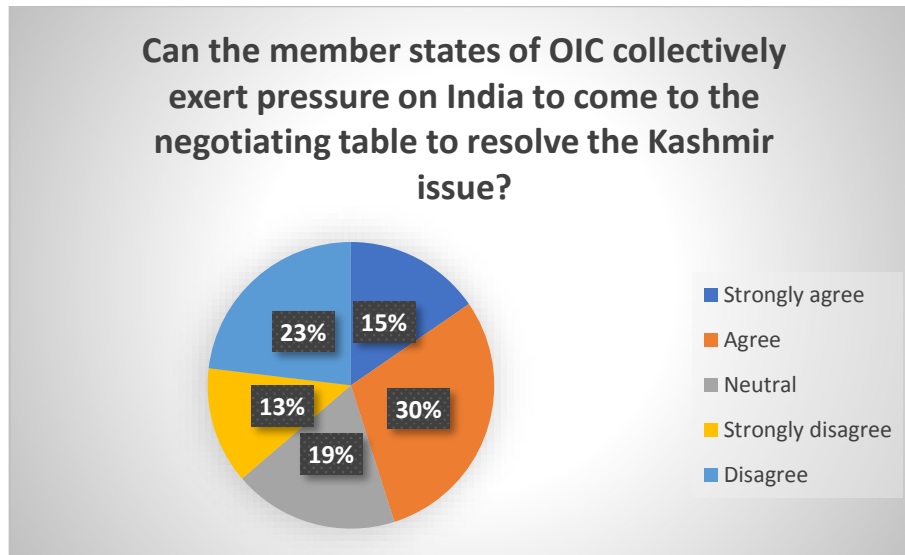
International community had never shown any kind of seriousness that they had shown in conflicts like South Sudan, East Timor. In addition, the UN missions sent in were among the successful one unlike UNMOGIP. The peace observers were not allowed to visit the Indian side of LOC neither India was forced by the international community to do so that is what the majority in the survey said. 49% strongly disagreed while 39% disagreed that UN had shown any seriousness towards Kashmir. 10% stayed neutral while 6% agreed on UN role and seriousness towards the issue of Kashmir.

Role of Pressure by SAARC on India for the negotiations to resolve the Kashmir conflict.



Majority of the people disagreed to this that the member states of SAARC could pressurize India by applying pressure for negotiations to resolve the Kashmir issue. 39% collectively agree to this while 17% remained neutral in their response. Keeping in view the history and current situation, the area for the meetings between Pakistan and Indian leaders, is provided by the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), and backed some accommodating projects on the regional crisis too. However, the smaller member's states being vulnerable to the Indian pressure could not favor Kashmir case and neither SAARC could deal with bilateral issue, and regarding the focus on initiatives of SAARC India twice had postponed its annual meetings when India was unhappy with progress happening in Pakistan. With this situation in hands, SAARC could not exert pressure on India for Kashmir according to my understanding.

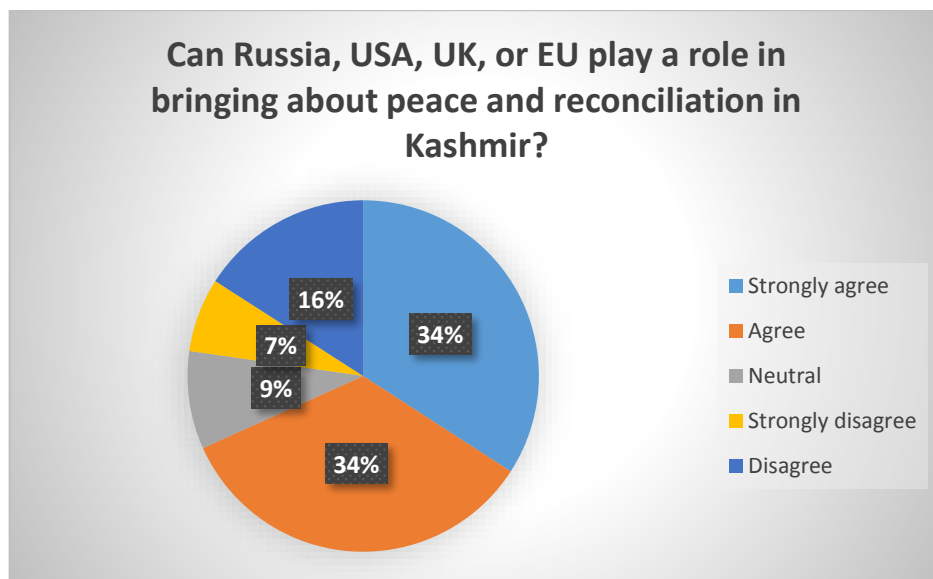
OIC member states roll in collectively exert pressure on India to come to the negotiating table to resolve the Kashmir issue.



The dispute between the two south Asian rivals has attracted attention at various multilateral forums, including the OIC, and has become an intrinsic feature in Pakistan's diplomacy. OIC has consistently commented on the situation in Kashmir much to India's dismay. Despite Kashmir's proximity to a region, that hosts several OIC member states; there is little understanding of the issue's attractiveness in the Muslim world. However, despite these varying views existing within the OIC, given the dynamics of the issue where interests of the Muslim world are involved and its prominence in Pakistan's foreign policy, Kashmir had remain part of the OIC discourse requiring a more informed approach led by Indian diplomacy. Which unfortunately could not be fixed. 30% respondents responding to this survey believe that member states of OIC could collectively exert pressure on India to come to the negotiating table to resolve the Kashmir issue while 15% strongly agree on that. 19% stayed neutral and remaining 36% disagree on that. Majority thinks OIC collectively

could bring India to the negotiating table and according to this survey analysis only with the international community that help and P5 members, it is only possible to exert pressure om India for bringing in peace and to come on the same page for negotiation.

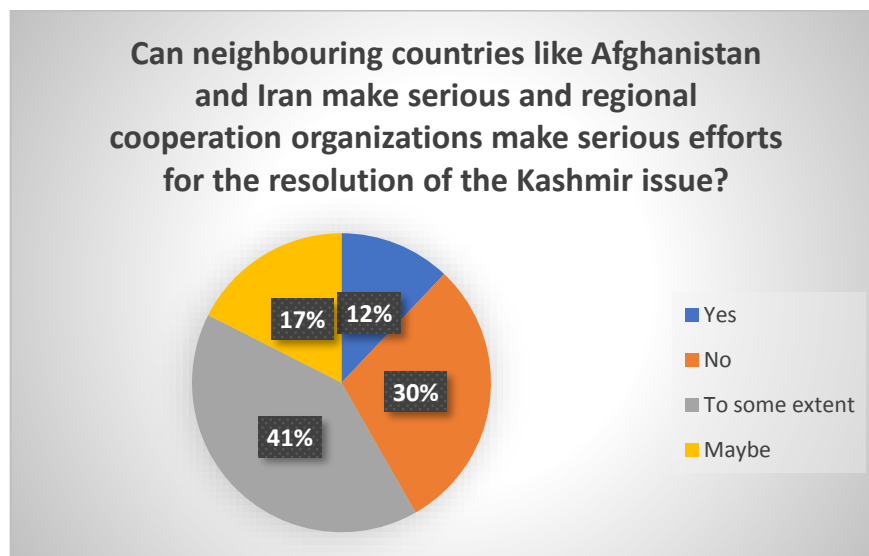
Role played by Russia, USA, UK, EU, or NAM in bringing peace and in the region of Kashmir.



Russia, USA, UK, EU, together could bring in peace and settlement in the region of Kashmir. US being a strategic partner with India could put pressure on Kashmir economically, strategically china and Russia could put pressure on India for resolving the issue or at least bringing peace in the region as Kashmir is the most militarized zone in the world and it is a threat to south Asian region peace. Majority of the respondents, almost 66% believe that Russia, USA, UK, EU, or NAM could play a role in bringing about peace and reconciliation in Kashmir while 23% people disagree on this. Nine percent people remained neutral on this. Considering current and past scenario, yes Russia, USA, UK, EU, and NAM can be a game hanger in

Kashmir case. USA being the super power could hamper the economy of India along with other partners and could tilt the situation in favor of Kashmir.

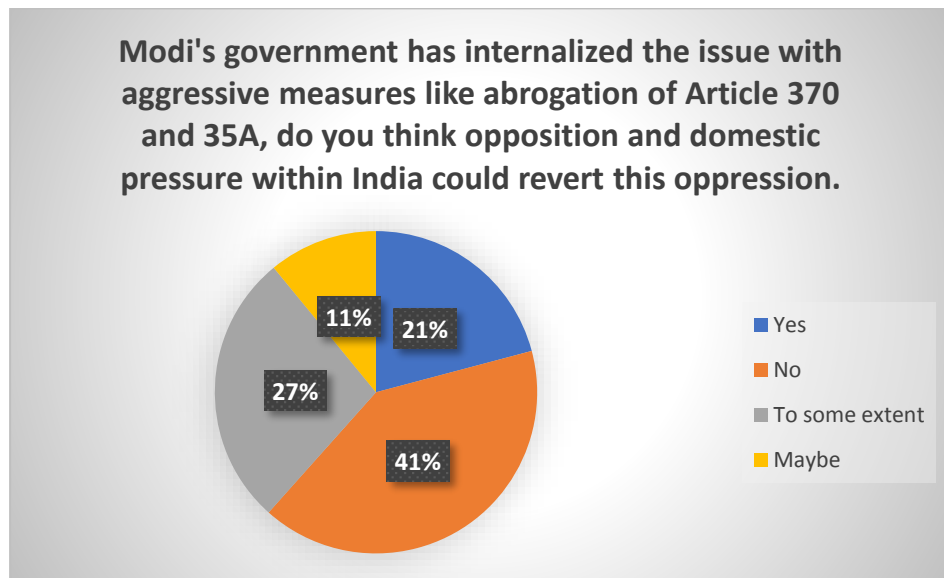
Efforts made by the neighboring countries like Afghanistan and Iran to make serious and regional cooperation organizations for resolving the Kashmir conflict.



41% of the respondent think that there is a possibility that neighboring countries like Afghanistan and Iran could make some serious and regional cooperation organizations and some serious efforts for the resolution of the Kashmir issue. While 30% thinks that, it is not possible. Apart from that, only 12 % think that it is possible while remaining 13% are in limbo situation neither agreeing nor disagreeing on this. In my opinion, regional cooperation with neighboring countries could only make serious efforts if they would be able to exhibit pressure on parties to the conflict. A weaker state could not help in resolution of this issue. Nor it could bring in parties to the negotiating table. Serious efforts are required to bring this issue to the table. In case of Afghanistan, Taliban's want Afghanistan they are not

interested and linked to Kashmir issue. In case of Iran, India and Iran are having a strategic partnership in shape of India Iran pipeline and chabahar port serving as competitor to Gwadar port developed by china. Iran can help a bit in this case but that pressure would not be enough to provoke India to do some good in Kashmir case.

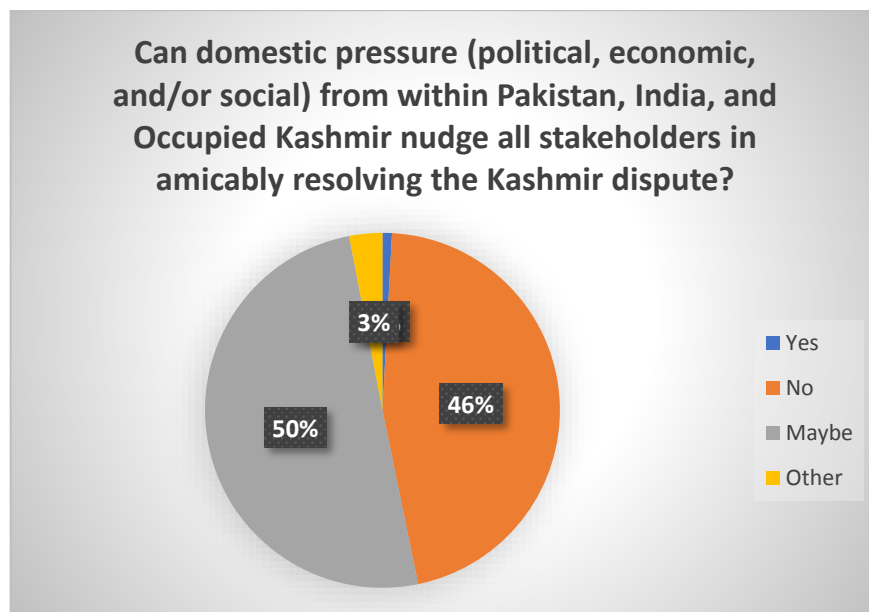
Modi's government has internalized the issue with aggressive measures like abrogation of Article 370 and 35A, can opposition and domestic pressure within India could revert this oppression.



Modi's government internalization the issue with aggressive measures like abrogation of Article 370 and 35A could not be reverted had it been it would have. 41 % people answered in against the fact that domestic pressure can help status of Kashmir to get back, while 27 said that there is a possibility while 21 percent people also opted for yes and 11 percent were unsure. In my opinion, no international community condemnation, neither a mediation offer nor any threats from other nations could bring back Kashmir's special status. It has been a year now; mass

human rights atrocities are visible. Kashmiris are devoid of their basic rights even. International community and major powers with strict sanctions and imposition could only revert the issue possibly.

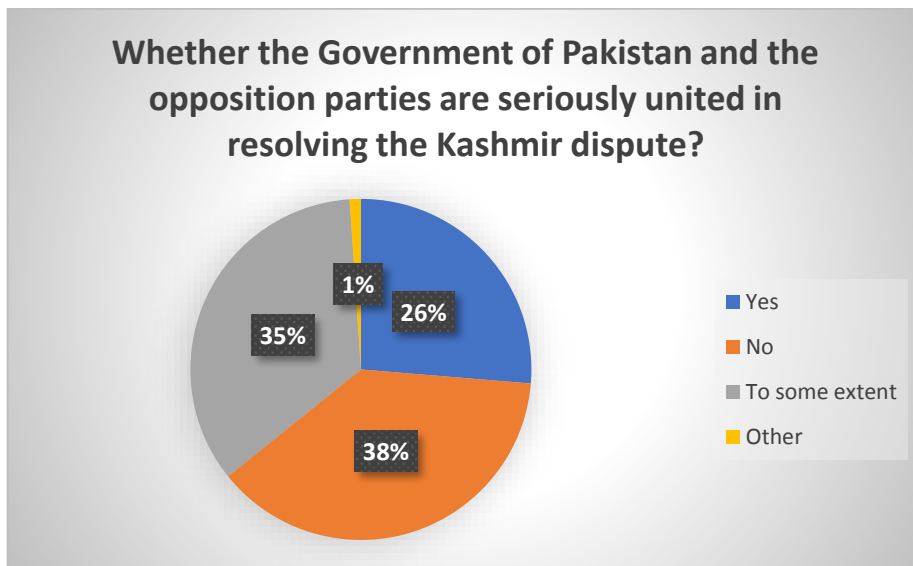
Can domestic pressure (political, economic, and/or social) from within Pakistan, India, and Occupied Kashmir nudge all stakeholders in amicably resolving the Kashmir dispute?



Domestic pressure be it political, economic, or social from within Pakistan, India, and Occupied Kashmir can nudge all stakeholders in amicably resolving the Kashmir dispute, in favor of this statement only 26% voted while 35% voted maybe while 32% disagreed with opting no. That is a worrying graph where majority is in limbo. Majority thinks it is not possible and technically, it is not because it is all about the interest. International community is more tilted towards their interest instead of the interest of Kashmiri people. With data gathered in chapter 3 and through review of literature the results of survey seems valid. No internal pressure from Pakistan and within Kashmir and India could not help in bringing the issue on

the table. BJP is not ready to negotiate even. On international forum India blatantly denies the violations, he has been doing in Kashmir since then. Besides that curfew imposed on Kashmir has not been lifted until now. It has been more than a year. 368 days in specific. No pressure could help neither in resolving the matter nor in negotiating on this issue.

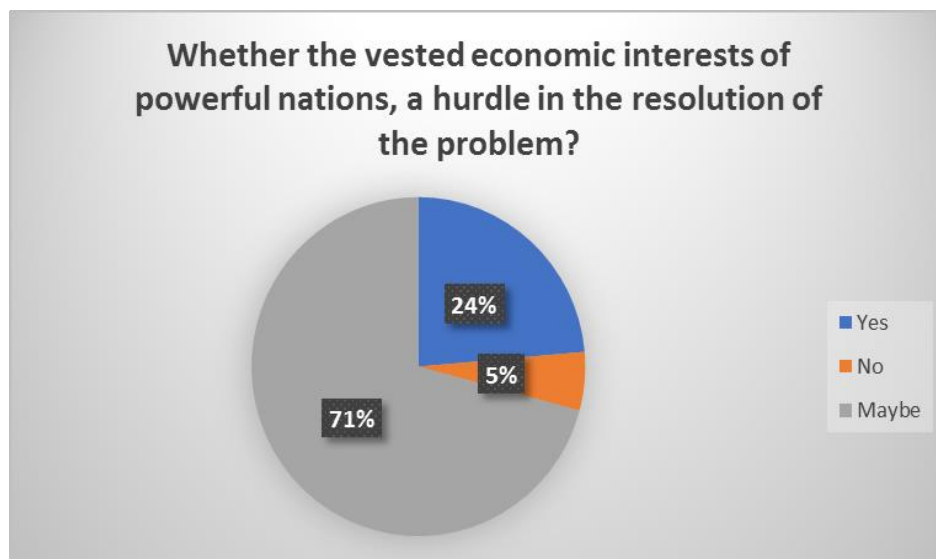
Government of Pakistan and the opposition parties' unity in resolving the Kashmir dispute



A report published on Kashmir solidarity day states that the opposition parties and government leaders agreed in resolute support for Indian occupied Kashmir people. Highlighting all the leaders be it in charge or opposition were united against the heinous atrocities and illegal revocation of special status and basics rights of Kashmir. Taking about the unity of government of Pakistan and the opposition parties in resolving the Kashmir dispute majority of people opted for no in a survey conducted, while some considered it a partial affair whereas 25% of people think that government and opposition are on the same page in resolving the Kashmir conflict. However, in my opinion government and opposition are not on the same

page in resolution of this issue. Both sides are politicizing the issue according to their interest. It would take serious policies to counter Indian narrative on international forum like UN to resolve the Kashmir issue. Government needs to address this issue seriously taking in confidence the opposition to get this issue in highlights of the international community.

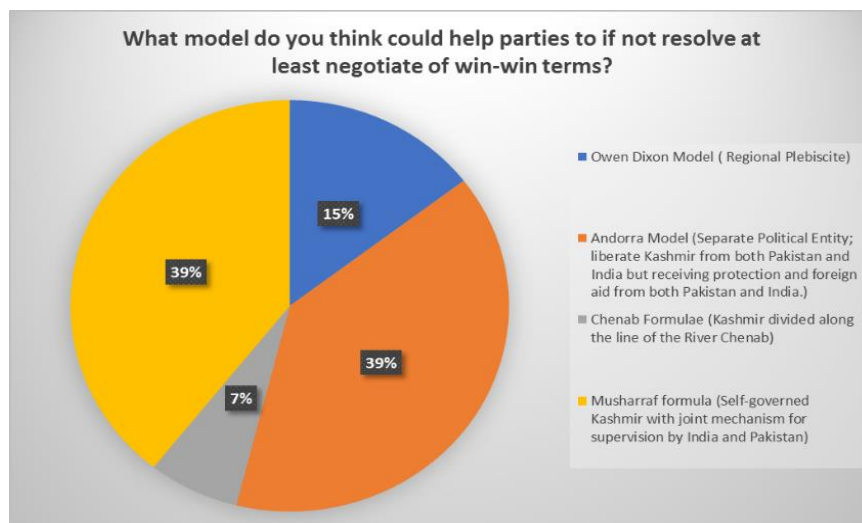
Vested economic interests of powerful nations, is it hurdle in the resolution of the problem.



In this realistic world, every nation state works accordingly for their preserved national interest. No state would go against its interest .So is the case in this Kashmir conflict. Stakes of powerful nations like USA, China, India who are trying to get their interests in south Asian region and their weapon industry that is getting its profit because of the ongoing conflict could not help in resolving the issue of Kashmir. US interest in India pacific region and its strategic partnership with India is a hindrance in resolving the conflict while china has the same interest. Though, China claims to be the friend but it is because of the interest they have in their

flagship project. Survey results claims the same thing too that it is a hindrance in the resolution only a 6% people claimed that it was not the case, there is no hindrance because of the stakes of powerful nations. Trump on resuming its office in 2017 introduced its America First policy. The champion of democracy was never helpful in resolution of the conflict.

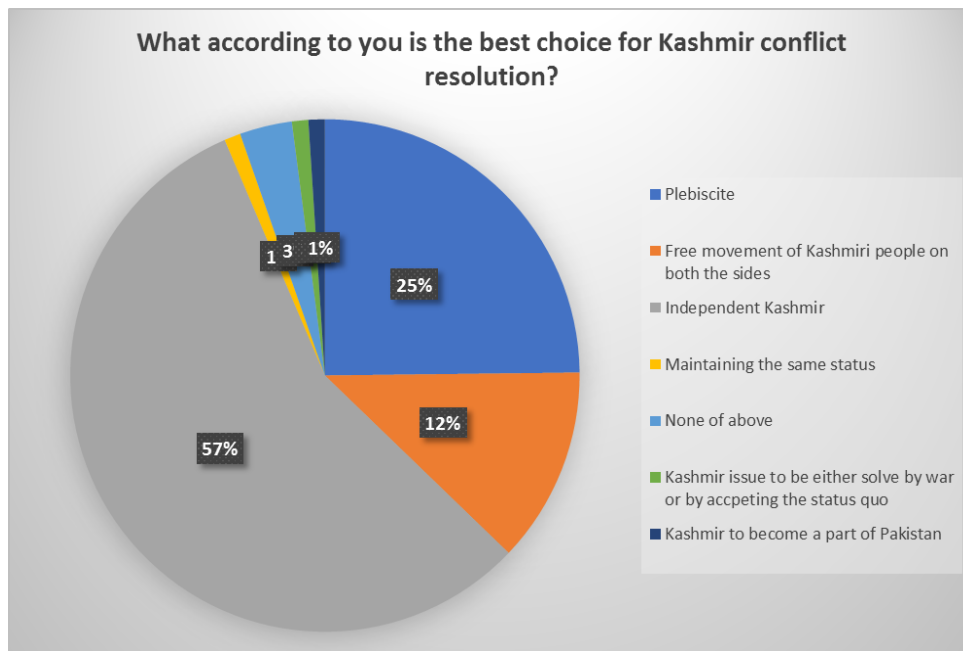
Model to resolve or at least negotiate a win-win terms.



Until date, many models have been presented to solve the decade's long Kashmir conflict but none of them worked as effectively as it should have. What model could be best suited for resolving the Kashmir conflict? Different models were presented to solve Kashmir conflict that could help parties to if not resolve at least negotiate of win-win terms. People responded in favour of Andorra model and Musharraf formula with a high percentage while 15 percent people opted for Owen Dixon model while only 7 percent voted in favour of Chenab formula. In my opinion, Musharraf model could help in resolving the issue. Critics says that Musharraf divided the Kashmir in 7 regions while Kashmir study group divided Kashmir in 5

regions. Another issue with that model was that India was not happy with that as termed by Ambassador Yusuf Buch Musharraf formula was to dissolve the Kashmir issue not to resolve the Kashmir dispute. As Indians could not stand peace in this conflicted region.

Best choice for Kashmir conflict resolution.



Kashmir has been an area of conflict since the inception of Pakistan and India. More than 7 decades have passed yet this issue is not resolved. Condition is getting worst with BJP leaders in power and Kashmir under the curfew state for 372 days until now. In all such circumstances what could be the best choice for resolving the Kashmir conflict, this question was responded largely in favour of an independent Kashmir. 54 % people responded in independence of Kashmir, while 23% responded having a plebiscite as suggested by united nations. While 11% suggested free movement on both the side of Kashmir. One percent suggested accepting the status quo and only 1% consented in Kashmir being part of Pakistan.

In my opinion, independent Kashmir is what majority wants but taking in consideration the security situation, economic conditions independent Kashmir could not survive as no model discussed in previous chapters for resolving Kashmir conflict supports the notion of an independent Kashmir. Some worthy solutions proposed were Musharraf formula that India denied because they could not withstand a positive outcome of this deadly conflict. UNSCR and Owen Dixon plan supported plebiscite that was also suggested as a solution by the respondent. Keeping in view all the models, previous efforts, current situation and survey results it could be suggested that independent Kashmir could not survive it had to accede either with Pakistan or with India. Alternatively, both of the countries had to accept the same status quo as PM Modi had revoked the special status of IOK. Which is a problem for Kashmiri freedom.

On fifth august 2019, after the revocation of article 35a and 370 the eruption of seven decades old conflict between India and Pakistan in the impulsive Kashmiri region. It all started with 14 February 2019 Pulwana attack. Which left the two rival nations at the brink of nuclear-armed conflict.

Kashmir issue came to the canvas soon after Pakistan and India became independent. The two neighbors fought three wars over this piece of land. Conflict in Kashmir is intricate, and it inquires the intense clash over such a small piece of territory y the two rival South Asian neighbors India and Pakistan.

As soon as Pakistan and India ways separated, the Dogra Maharaja Hari Singh, who was the Hindu ruler of Kashmir at that time, controlled predominately Muslims population, stayed neutral. The maharaja was unable to make choice either to join Indian side or the Pakistani side. Then India forced maharaja to accede with

the India side. Consequently, India Pakistan fought their first war in 1947 where India asked for the UN assistance to facilitate the resolution of this conflict. The involvement of UN led to a temporary armistice and plebiscite was opted as an option. However, Indian atrocious intensions never let that happen. Until, 1949 attack, where after an agreement contemporary de facto border was established, with an India control of sixty five percent of its territory.

After 1948, two more wars were fought between the two rival South Asian neighbors Pakistan and India. In 1965, India Pakistan fought the second war whereas third was fought in 1971. Another, confrontation between Pakistan India was witnessed in 1999. Today three parties, Pakistan, China, and India claim Kashmir. India controls the Jammu, the Kashmir Valley, and Ladakh, then the Siachen Glacier; whereas, Pakistan manages the region of Azad Jammu and Kashmir along with, Gilgit-Baltistan, while China governs the district of Demchok, the region of Aksai Chin and, the Shaksgam Valley.

There arises a question about importance of Kashmir, for all the three parties involved India, Pakistan, and China. The reason is the reserves of freshwaters heads and glaciers flowing through that area and to India. The fresh waters that flow through Kashmir delivers water and are providing energy to billions of Indian people. Pakistan, greatly rely on glacial waters flowing from the region. And, its agricultural sector is supported by this. Kashmir is consequently, the main security issue for both the nations, which posed an existential threat to the other nations. However, to keep away from similarly escalations, the Indus Waters Treaty become signed, through India and Pakistan in 1960, brokered through the World Bank. This agreement gave India manage over the Beas; Ravi and Sutlej rivers, and

Pakistan manage over the Indus, Chenab, and Jhelum. Since all of the rivers flowed via India, India become given unique provisions for hydroelectric development.

Additionally, international community, Pakistan, India to combat further conflictual situation, presented many models. Which include UNSCR and Owen Dixon's Proposal for Kashmir 1947, The Chenab formula 1960, Sumit Ganguly Proposal, Selig Harrison's Proposal: The Trieste Model, Robert Wirsing's Proposal. They also include The Jammu and Kashmir Proposal for an Independent Kashmir, U.S. Brokered Tripartite Dialogue, Kashmir Study Group Proposal, The Lahore Declaration and Andorra Model. The Aaland Islands Model, The Irish Model, Divided Kashmir Proposal by Mushtaq Ur Rehman, Musharraf's 4 points formula and proposal for Demilitarization of Seven Zones and Sumantra Bose's Proposal were also included. They all somehow provided with a solution on this conflict but unfortunately, none could not work effectively.

The two countries have different views on the issue. For India, this is the essence of the Indian position, and Delhi claims that Maharaja Hari Singh's decision to gain access to the India was final and legal. India's position is that the precondition for a referendum was not met because this option is invalid. New Delhi added that after attempts to change Pakistan's stand-off with war in 1965, Islamabad had lost the right to insist on UN resolutions. It is not necessary to discover the will of the people through effort alone. According to India, the Kashmir issue is because of Pakistan-sponsored terrorism. The targets are the Muslims of Kashmir, who accept Pakistan's argument that it cares about the well-being of the Muslims of Kashmir. Although India wanted to resolve all outstanding issues with Pakistan through dialogue, the integrity and sovereignty of India cannot be a question of dialogue.

India's policy on Kashmir functioned at three different levels: local, bilateral and international. At the local level, India's main objective is to destroy the Kashmiris on a large scale by force. At the India-Pakistan bilateral level, India, while willing to discuss all outstanding issues with Pakistan, refrained from engaging in meaningful dialogue with Pakistan on Kashmir. For them, Kashmir is an integral part. Furthermore, at the international level, India's policy towards Kashmir has three main objectives: to stop the Pakistani campaign accusing it of human rights violations in Kashmir. Highlighting the Shimla Accord provides the only viable forum to solve this problem. In addition, calling Kashmiri resistance movement as a "terrorist activity" organized by Pakistan. However, after the abrogation of articles 370 and 35A, which is now only being implemented, locally.

On the other hand, Pakistani Approach has always been neutral and fair. The Government of Pakistan has preserved the disputed territory status of Jammu and Kashmir. The annexation of the state to India in October 1947 was temporary and was carried out, under forced pressure from the Indian military presence. The disputed status of Jammu and Kashmir was recognized, in the UN Security Council resolutions of August 13, 1948 and January 5, 1949, agreed by both Pakistan and India. However, India discredited it always. The discussions on the future status of Jammu and Kashmir between India and Pakistan have always intended to safeguard the right of the Kashmiri people to self-determination. This right included a free, fair and internationally supervised referendum, as agreed to in UN Security Council resolutions of 1948-1949, but it did not help Kashmir. Perhaps. The Shimla talks were held between India and Pakistan in accordance with the UN Security Council resolutions on the future status of Jammu and Kashmir. India has never welcomed

the role of international mediator in these negotiations. Also, the problem remains unsolved.

It is been a year now Kashmir is under the curfew. Several human rights violation has been observed but no action by international community has been observed. War can never be a solution to solve this issue but mediation and arbitration with a strong policy from Pakistan. Along with strong pressure from the international community.

Conclusion

The conflict in Kashmir has aggravated for more than 70 years. The situation has become more acute with the abrogation of Article 370 and 35A of the Indian constitution on August 5 2019 and the forcible usurpation of the disputed region by the racist Modi government. The occupied territories have witnessed unparalleled bloodshed and violence and needs a peaceful resolution More than 100,000 have died over past seven decades, and there have been gross violations of human rights. Three wars between India and Pakistan over Kashmir have not resolved issues between the two countries that. Both claim Kashmir as their own. The research analyzed the case of Kashmir to bring awareness in the society about the crisis enduring in the world community for more than seven decades. Along with that, it provided a new eloquent and logical understanding of Indian objectives behind the non-resolution of Kashmir issue. Besides that, it analyzed all the aspects and pressures required for resolution of Kashmir.

The conflict in Indian occupied Jammu and Kashmir can only be settled with enough internal pressure from within India, Kashmir, and Pakistan and from outside. The pressures should be strong enough to bring the both the governments to the negotiating table to discuss and resolve the Kashmir issue.

India was the first country to take the issue to UN but it did not abide by UN Security Council Resolutions (UNSCR) calling for a fair plebiscite on Kashmir. UN as a neutral world body has not been able to exert its will in bringing about peace and stability in South Asia. The UN tried to facilitate negotiations on Kashmir between both parties but disengaged itself post 1957 due to the unwillingness of

both parties to agree to UN proposed solutions, and failure of the UN itself to enforce its proposals by force.

The failure of the UN to exert itself on the Kashmir issue does not mean that the issue is irreconcilable. Honest brokers still have a role to play. They have the potential to bring both Pakistan and India to the negotiating table. This is even more necessary to prevent a nuclear war to the region.

The international community including powerful nations like US and China have a role to play in using their influence and resolving this old conflict. Arbiters and mediators have conflict resolution models to choose. There have been Kashmir specific models. None of these proposals have found acceptance between the parties to the conflict e.g. the Owen Dixon's Proposal for Kashmir that provided Kashmiri's with the right of Self-determination, and legitimate rights was unfortunately rejected by both the parties and it didn't allow for a third party option.

The Chenab formula proposed a division on water line of Chenab, but it largely ignored the dimensions of the issue focus was mainly on division and legalizing the status quo of an area oppressed by India. This proposal was also rejected. Many other proposals including Sumit Ganguly's Proposal that converted the Line of Control (LoC) into a recognized international boundary between India and Pakistan. India favored this highly however, was rejected by Pakistan. Whereas, in Selig Harrison's proposal on Kashmir has enjoyed international support, it ignored the sentiments of the people. It also ignored the end goals of the Kashmiri freedom movement. It was putting too much assurance on CBMs to bring in peace in the region.

The Robert Wirsing proposal offered third party mediation option to reduce Kashmir's suffering. The foremost problem was with India that opposed this model. The Third Option calling for an Independent Kashmir found favour with those wanting a the reunion of the divided Jammu-Kashmir State making it an independent state, with a democratic, federal and non-communal system of governments. Both governments opposed this proposal.

A US. Brokered Tripartite Dialogue, and The Irish Model was another option given in Kashmir case but that were rejected. The Divided Kashmir Proposal took Indus Water Treaty as a model. The treat was accepted by both India and Pakistan because it guarded their economic interests. This model ignored the right of self-determination, it legitimized the status quo of Kashmir, which was a threat to Kashmiris, and human and cultural dimensions of Kashmiri people were ignored. The Kashmir Study Group (KSG) Proposal was based on shared sovereignty. It took into consideration the ground realities of the Kashmir situation and the national interests of both India and Pakistan. It encouraged the Kashmiriyat but ignored sovereignty for the Kashmiris. The extremist Hindu parties in India opposed this proposal. Andorra Model proposed a shared control that would content both the parties but a faulty similarity made this model flawed and was rejected. Sumantra Bose's in his proposal has argued that the status quo was not possible. In addition, he suggested the alteration of the territorial integrity. Pakistan and Kashmir opposed this model. However, India supported it. However, India rejected that by terming it as an evil plan against Indian but there were not many takers for this plan in Pakistan either.

Since the abrogation of article 370 and 35A, and losing its special status Kashmir marked its first anniversary on 5 August 2020. A year of misery and pain

for Kashmiris without any kind of communication. Living under curfew facing the domicile law change as a threat. Scholars, in their reports argue that after the abrogation of IOKs special status Muslims in IOK have faced many grave human rights violations such as extra judicial killings, forced disappearances, rape, murder etc.

With such situation at hand, no pressure helped neither UN, nor US came in. Trump administration was long on rhetoric but short on achievements. South Asia is the famous nuclear flash point of the world. In Kashmir case both India and Pakistan have always relied on third party involvement but that was of no use. As both the sides were reluctant and the resolution bilaterally. Since the alliance of Indo-US, US role as a mediator nullified. Beside this, china could be another helpful option but due to the larger investment in Indian market, china is reluctant to put any kind of serious pressure except for the recent skirmish at Ladakh region. Neither Pakistan nor any other state could help. It could only be resolved with international community putting pressure along with sanctions with serious consequence. Nevertheless, for now, there is nothing much left for Pakistan except for drawing international attention to human rights abuses in the valley. Moreover, under R2P (Responsibility to Protect) of the UN, there could be a possibility for Pakistan to intervene to protect the masses but this will depend on; whether Pakistan has the capability to launch an offensive against India or not.

References.

- "Pakistan Vows To Increase Pressure On India Over Kashmir | DW | 06.08.2019". 2020. *DW.COM*. <https://www.dw.com/en/pakistan-vows-to-increase-pressure-on-india-over-kashmir/a-49921214>.
- "Why India And Pakistan Fight Over Kashmir". 2019. *BBC News*. <https://www.bbc.com/news/10537286>.
- "Article 370: What Happened With Kashmir And Why It Matters". 2019. *BBC News*. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-49234708>.
- Ahmar, M., 2007. *Kashmir And The Process Of Conflict Resolution*. [ebook] Pakistan Security Research Unit (PSRU), p.15. Available at: <<http://prfjk.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/Brief16finalised.pdf>>.
- Ahmed, S. and Chakma, A., 2012. *Kashmir Conflict: A Critical Analysis*. 3rd ed. [ebook] p.17. Available at: <http://bellschool.anu.edu.au/sites/default/files/publications/attachments/2019-03/chakma_kashmir_conflict.pdf>.
- Alons, G., 2005. *The State Between Internal And External Pressure: Exploring The Impact Of Power Structures At Different Levels Of Analysis On State Preference Formation With Regard To Foreign Policy*. [ebook] Granada, p.38. Available at: <<https://ecpr.eu/Filestore/PaperProposal/0a49f5b3-e400-499c-b404-c0e952477e58.pdf>>.
- Ansari, S., Effendi, D. and Haque, D., n.d. *PROBLEM SOLVING DECISION MAKING MODEL IN KASHMIR CONFLICT RESOLUTION: PROSPECTS AND CHALLENGES*. [ebook] p.23. Available at: <<https://ndu.edu.pk/ndu-journal/pub-new/01-Problem-Solving.pdf>>.
- Ansari, Samra Farrukh, Dr. Maria Saifuddin Effendi, and Dr. Riffat Haque. 2019. *PROBLEM SOLVING DECISION MAKING MODEL IN KASHMIR CONFLICT RESOLUTION: PROSPECTS AND CHALLENGES*. Ebook. NDU. <https://ndu.edu.pk/ndu-journal/pub-new/01-Problem-Solving.pdf>.
- BAJEKAL, NAINA. 2019. "India Has Taken Kashmir, But Winning The Hearts And Minds Of Kashmiris Will Be Harder". *Time*. <https://time.com/5647323/india-kashmir-conflict-public-opinion/>.
- BHATNAGAR, STUTI. 2019. "Pressure Upon Pressure Builds Around Kashmir". *Lowyinstitute.Org*. <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/pressure-upon-pressure-builds-around-kashmir>.
- Cheema, M., 2015. *Pakistan – India Conflict With Special Reference To Kashmir*. [ebook] Lahore: University of the Punjab, Lahore, p.25. Available at: <http://pu.edu.pk/images/journal/csas/PDF/4%20Mis%20Musarat%20Javaid_30_1.pdf>.

- Gettleman, Jeffrey, Hari Kumar, Suhasini Raj, and Kai Schultz. 2019. "India Revokes Kashmir's Special Status, Raising Fears Of Unrest". *Nytimes.Com*.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/05/world/asia/india-pakistan-kashmir-jammu.html>.
- Gettleman, Jeffrey. 2020. "In Kashmir, Blood And Grief In An Intimate War: 'These Bodies Are Our Assets'". *Nytimes.Com*.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/01/world/asia/kashmir-war-india-pakistan.html>.
- IBRAHIM KHAN, S., 1990. *THE KASHMIR SAGA*. 2nd ed. [ebook] Mirpur Azad Kashmir: Farooq Suhail VERINAG, p.90. Available at:
 <http://file:///C:/The_Kashmir_Saga.pdf>.
- INAYAT, NAILA. 2019. "Kashmir Banega Pakistan: A Dream Sold To Brainwash Us Since Childhood Now Lies In Tatters". *Theprint*. <https://theprint.in/opinion/letter-from-pakistan/kashmir-banega-pakistan-a-dream-sold-to-brainwash-us-since-childhood-now-lies-in-tatters/273952/>.
- Islam, M., 2019. *BEFORE AND AFTER PULWAMA: THE KASHMIR ISSUE*. [ebook] p.8. Available at:
 <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/331560026_BEFORE_AND_AFTER_PULWAMA_THE_KASHMIR_ISSUE>.
- James, C. and OZDAMAR, O., 2005. *Religion As A Factor In Ethnic Conflict: Kashmir And Indian Foreign Policy*. [ebook] Routledge, p.23. Available at:
 <<http://ozgur.bilkent.edu.tr/download/05Religion%20as%20a%20Factor%20in%20Ethnic%20Conflict%20Kashmir.pdf>>.
- John, ANTHONY WANIS ST. n.d. *Third Party Mediation Over Kashmir: A Modest Proposal*. Ebook. <https://www.american.edu/sis/faculty/upload/wanis-third-party-mediation-over-kashmir.pdf>.
- Kamp-Alons, Gerry van der. 2005. *The State Between Internal And External Pressure: Exploring The Impact Of Power Structures At Different Levels Of Analysis On State Preference Formation With Regard To Foreign Policy*. Ebook.
https://drive.google.com/file/d/1jIkAIELDHRzyxRZuQQ5ALU69_OXOwPBV/view.
- Khan, D., n.d. *KASHMIR DISPUTE: A LEGAL PERSPECTIVE*. [ebook] p.26. Available at: <https://ndu.edu.pk/issra/issra_pub/articles/ndu-journal/NDU-Journal-2015/07-Legal-Perspective-of-Kashmir.pdf>.
- Kurr, N., 2015. *Solutions To The Conflict In Kashmir*. 3rd ed. [ebook] Bowling Green State University, p.15. Available at:
 <<https://scholarworks.bgsu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1035&context=irj>>.
- Mushtaq, Y., 2009. "CONTEMPORARY MODELS OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION: RE-VISITING THE PROSPECTS OF UNKNOTTING THE KASHMIR DISPUTE".

[ebook] ISSRA Papers, p.13. Available at:
<https://ndu.edu.pk/issra/issra_pub/articles/issra-paper/ISSRA-Paper-Vol-I-2009/03-Contemporary-Models-of-Conflict-Resolution-by-Yusra-Mushtaq.pdf>.

Mushtaq, Yusra. 2009. "*CONTEMPORARY MODELS OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION: RE-VISITING THE PROSPECTS OF UNKNOTTING THE KASHMIR DISPUTE*". Ebook. ISSRA.
<https://drive.google.com/file/d/1mFDAExbBQbDwFV7805qpoc5eWPeBeJyj/view>.

Qadeer, M., n.d. *United Nations Resolutions On Kashmir And Their Relevance*. [ebook] p.31. Available at: <<https://ssii.com.pk/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/United-Nations-Resolutions-on-Kashmir-and-their-Relevance-Muhammad-Abdul-Qadeer.pdf>>.

Raashed, Maryam. 2020. "Role Of Kashmiri Diaspora In Kashmir'S Self-Determination Struggle". <https://cscr.pk/explore/themes/politics-governance/role-of-kashmiri-diaspora-in-kashmirs-self-determination-struggle/>.

Siddiqa, Ayesha. 2020. "Pakistan'S Plans For Kashmir Have Become More Quixotic Than Ever". *The Wire*. <https://thewire.in/south-asia/pakistan-kashmir-policy-india-article-370-china>.

Subbiah, S., 2004. *Security Council Mediation And The Kashmir Dispute: Reflections On Its Failures And Possibilities For Renewal*. [ebook] p.14. Available at:
<<https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/92ea/d026124550fc229190793695c25ce8a1d7cd.pdf>>.

T. JOHN, A., n.d. *Third Party Mediation Over Kashmir: A Modest Proposal*. [ebook] p.30. Available at: <<https://www.american.edu/sis/faculty/upload/wanis-third-party-mediation-over-kashmir.pdf>>.

Zulfiqar, S., n.d. *Kashmir: Nature And Dimensions Of The Conflict*. [ebook] p.15.
Available at: <https://www.ipripak.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Article4_Saman-Zulfqar-18-Nov-2016.pdf>.